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POLITICAL  
CONFERENCES

BETWEEN  
SEVERAL GREAT MEN  
IN THE  
LAST AND PRESENT CENTURY.

In page 116. line 12. for *defrauded*, read *deserted*.

— 188, — 20. read *England*.

# CONFERENCES

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BETWEEN

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IN THE

LAST AND PRESENT CENTURY.

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POLITICAL  
CONFERENCES  
BETWEEN  
SEVERAL GREAT MEN,  
IN THE  
LAST AND PRESENT CENTURY,

WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR,  
THOMAS TYERS, Esq.  
OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

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THE SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.



LONDON:  
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MDCCCLXXXI.

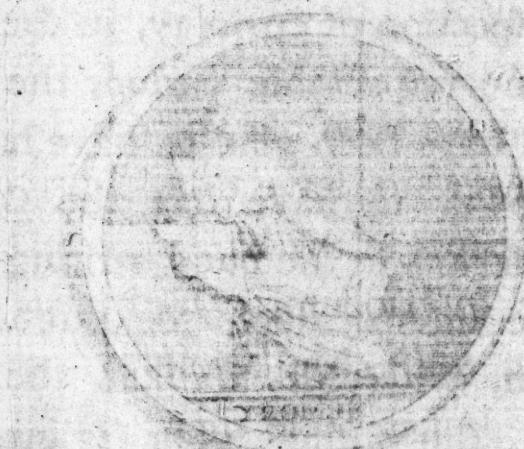
1848-1853

THE  
LITERARY  
MAGAZINE  
AND  
REVIEW

LAW AND LITERATURE  
AND  
SCIENCE



THE  
SECOND  
EDITION  
WITH  
ADDITIONS  
AND  
IMPROVEMENTS  
BY  
JOHN  
GARDNER,  
ANTHONY  
WILLIAMS,  
AND  
JAMES  
MORSE.



THE  
LITERARY  
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ESTABLISHMENT  
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SCIENCE  
IN  
THE  
COLONIES  
AND  
OVERSEAS  
COUNTRIES  
FOR  
THE  
ADVANCEMENT  
OF  
KNOWLEDGE  
AND  
PRACTICE  
IN  
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ARTS  
AND  
SCIENCES  
AND  
THE  
PRACTICAL  
APPLICA-

—MDCCCLXXXVII

## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reader may possibly be induced to ask, if these Conferences are genuine? I answer, that I am only the Editor. According to the present fashion of depositing State Papers, for the inspection of curiosity, in the hands of some respectable person, the Editor would have been glad to have had it in his power to have left the Original Manuscripts in the hand-writing of one of the Interlocutors, for public satisfaction, with Mr. CADELL the Bookseller. But if these men (as great men as England ever saw) express themselves just as they are made to do in

## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

our most authentic and circumstantial histories, he can see no useful reason for treating their conversations as fictitious. Depend upon it, they are more real than half the orations and dialogues, civil or political, of Grecian or Roman historians and rhetoricians, and will give as legitimate information as our parliamentary debates. Take an instance that presents itself to the memory and pen of the Editor. The Conference recorded by Dion Cassius, between Augustus, Agrippa, and Mæcenas, is related with all the formal minuteness of real conversation. It was upon the greatest question that could be discussed in the Cabinet or the Senate; no less, than whether Augustus should retain his power, or restore the Commonwealth. In the opinion of discerning persons, this conversation never could happen.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

Augustus no more than Oliver Cromwell would suffer such a matter to be debated, that could lead to deposing himself, or abdicating the Government. What is out of character, must be out of truth. It is presumed, there is no such distortion of features in any of the political Dramatis Personæ in this Collection. For the veracity of these Closet Conversations, there cannot, in the nature of the thing, be many vouchers. Now they are presented to the world, and exhibit all the internal marks of having been once the living language of the appropriated personages, the Editor hopes they may be acceptable to the Lovers of Secret History and Anecdote. Clarendon, Whitlock, D'Ewes, Grey, and others, give us many important expressions, opinions, and debates of Senatorial Men, which would have been lost,

## ADVERTISEMENT.

lost, if they had not preserved them in their memorials and journals. It is owing to the forward zeal of the present Editor, that the following private Conferencees, on that account perhaps the more interesting, are rescued from oblivion, and thus are permitted to see the light.

## THAGSBITAVGA

~~an historical sketch of Saint George and  
the dragon, with its illustrations in four pages  
and eight plates, in folio, with a  
ADVERTISEMENT  
and other appendices, in vellum, or  
adorned with a cover of  
To  
THIS EDITION.~~

A NOTHER impression appearing necessary, the Editor must again pay his compliments to the Reader: for they are become better acquainted. The *Conferences*, and the *Commentary*, were ventured abroad without a name, that they might stand or fall by the impartial judgment of the Public; which was to direct the future conduct of the Editor. They were thrown into the wide world, as an Authoress says of her Play, to seek their fortune. They have

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## A D V E R T I S E M E N T

the good luck to please some of the foremost in the rank of knowledge and of taste; whom it is the highest gratification to please. There is as much truth as vanity in declaring, that the approbation which followed this slender Publication, is esteemed a better reward than the profit of the most rapid sale.— Three new *Conferences*, that pretend to as much originality as the others, with copious Notes, are added. The fashion of the performance, it is presumed, will prevent weariness in the perusal. Every *Conference* serves as a mile-stone to give rest to the political Tourist, and to show him the length of the way.—The *Commentary* is become as large as the *Text*, and the pamphlet is swelled into a volume. A candid Critic, in a monthly publication, seemed to hint, that more Anecdotes would be acceptable: this has

## TO THIS EDITION.

has produced so large a harvest of them. The sensible Author alluded to, is mistaken, if he supposes, that the Editor does not abhor tyranny and corruption as much as any of his Readers. He cannot but be an advocate, with hand, heart, and voice, whilst in his senses, for *public liberty*, for *he is one of the People*. The personages, in these serious, political scenes, hold their own language, on liberty, arbitrary power, anarchy, monarchy, fanaticism, a republic, and military usurpation. The Reader seems to be as much an auditor as the interlocutor, and to have the conversation almost contrived for his amusement. Some readers have pronounced, that the diction of these great men is sometimes slovenly and ungrammatical. A proof, if wanted, that it was not fabricated, but the genuine effusions of those

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times.

## ADVERTISEMENT

times. But which of the most unembarrassed spokesmen of either House, even in these times, tho' possessed of all imaginable elocution, pretends to speak with correct eloquence? The debates in the Senate of *Lilliput*, composed for them by our great *Philologer*, in his younger days, display the arguments of those deceased orators to the best advantage, and adorn them with the best flowers of rhetoric. But every body *now* acknowledges those speeches to be made *for* them, and *not by* them.—If the following dialogues had been of elaborate composition, and suffered to smell of the lamp, might not another Bentley, who found out the factitious Epistles of Phalaris, by the assay of Thericlean cups and Sicilian talents, have discovered their spuriousness, and exposed the Sophist?—But to be more serious, and to

TO THIS EDITION.

have done.—A number of characters pass in solemn review before the Editor; but it is hoped, he has not wantonly, in his Annotations, dipped his pen into fulsome praise or defamatory petulance. He means neither to offend the living, nor belie the dead. To take advantage of those who have been snatched away before us, and to pursue their reputations with feigned or false accusations before the tribunal of the Public, for the entertainment of the Writer or the Reader, would demand severe reprehension. Antony Wood's charge of corruption, in his laborious Biography, against Lord Clarendon, at the distance of more than thirty years, occasioned the burning of his book, by a sentence of the University; who took that method of vindicating their Chancellor.—  
*Ere memory's soft figures melt away,*

## A D V E R T I S E M E N T, &c.

the Editor tries to look back on some acts and actors who attracted contemporary notice, and to bring forward some persons who have had their day upon the stage; and who, according to the light in which they are placed, will be variously talked of by the present and by future generations.

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СОЧИТЕНО

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# CONFERENCE I.

## LORD STRAFFORD AND MR. PYM.

[At Greenwich, in 1633.]

P Y M.

**E**XCUSE my freedom. I hate apostacy, and I can hardly bear the sight of a man who has changed his principles. When you quitted the Commons, and solicited a seat in the other House, I saw clearly you were deserting the cause of the people.

## STRAFFORD.

Did I not oppose all illegal proceedings for several years, at the expence of my personal liberty, with as much energy and eloquence as the best of you all? And had I not as much merit as any one in procuring the *Bill*

( 2 )

of *Rights* that has made you all safe? I think the people have obtained all that you can desire for them, and that the prerogative is pared close enough.

P Y M.

You could not withstand the sunshine of Royal Favour. You have made an ill exchange for yourself. The people will never forgive your deserting them for the bauble of a peerage: they will be always apprehensive you will employ your influence and great abilities against them. Was it worth while to gratify the wishes of one person at the expense of your honour? to venture the indignation of all good men, by going out of the path you set out in, and should have continued in, during your political life?

S T R A F F O R D.

I hope I have not lost the good opinion of wife and honest men. I have not forsaken nor lost sight of the interest of my country: I am in love with its government and its laws: I have it now in my power to serve it

it with my advice, which my Royal Master condescends to ask and to accept. Whilst I continued in Opposition, I could only endeavour to prevent some wrong things from being done. By means of my present situation, I can procure some positive good.

## P Y M.

When did you know a Minister of State a real Patriot? Before he can permit himself to think for the good of the people, he must sacrifice to the humour and interest of those who brought him in, and are to keep him in place; he must procure emoluments for himself, for his friends, and for his party. The people's eyes are now open, and they discover the designs of the Court: they require an additional set of grievances to be redressed. The Bill of Rights has been eluded; nay, trampled upon. Prerogative is every day exerted against the safety of the people. The Lord Deputy of Ireland will be adjudged the author of all they have to complain of, from the moment he changed sides, and became one of the Cabinet.

## S T R A F F O R D.

I have no objection to a sober remonstrance of the people, nor to comply with their reasonable desires: but they should not be taught to ask for new rights, to the irreparable injury of the Crown. The abuse of prerogative may now and then produce some inconvenience, but the preponderancy of democracy may occasion the loss of the whole. You are too hard upon the servants of the Crown. It may be your good or bad fortune, some time or other, when your notions are more accommodating, to be invited into some high, responsible office; and then you will feel it to be unbecoming of old friendship, to have it doubted to your face, whether a Minister of State can be an honest man.

## P Y M.

The Court measures, and manners also, must undergo a thorough change, before Pym could allow himself to participate of them. I am a determined champion for the people. They trust me, and I will never betray them.

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I will

I will not advance a step to greatness, to their inconvenience. In contradiction to your high-flown notions of monarchy, I assert, that I would rather see England settled in a commonwealth, than the spirit of the nation subdued, and their sacred privileges made to depend upon the breath of a King, and on Court favour. The tone and language you held just now become tolerably well the Lord Deputy of Ireland, but are unworthy the magnanimity of Sir Thomas Wentworth.

## S T R A F F O R D.

In my highest flights, whilst a Commoner, my heart was never averse to monarchy. I was then neither a Puritan nor an Armenian. The more opportunities I possess of knowing the King, the more strongly am I attached to his person and authority. A King of England is not to be reduced to the insignificance of a Doge of Venice. Since the murder of Buckingham, who ruled, I confess, with a very high hand, the King has no favourite. He has taken upon him the task of being more his own Minister; and therefore

therefore you have not so much reason to apprehend any violation of popular rights.

## P Y M.

I am afraid I shall hardly be able to contain my temper within just bounds, since you give me such advantages in the course of our conversation. Is the governing without parliaments, or convening them on purpose to dissolve them, what you commend in his Majesty's proclamation? Is it a proceeding you will avow yourself the adviser of? Are the variety of impositions and taxes expected to be borne patiently by the people at large, till they have a hope of remedy from their representatives in St. Stephen's Chapel? Are the conjoint terms, "No Bishop no King," to issue from the pulpit eternally? Are the High Commission and Star-Chamber Courts to lord it over our conduct and our consciences, like the Popish Inquisition? Is liberty of speech and of complaint to be taken away?

## S T R A F.

## S T R A F F O R D.

There is so bad and discontented a spirit abroad, that the King does not think it safe nor expedient to call a Parliament. Why should not the King have his prerogatives, as well as the people their privileges? Take care how you make the little finger of the prerogative heavier than the whole loins of the law. The King can do no wrong. He will protect his servants, who will not be afraid to execute the legal orders that are committed to them. He will not let them be impeached by every seditious orator in the Lower House, nor suffer himself to be menaced out of his government. If he is at this moment not so well inclined to increase the rights of his subjects, he will not diminish their number. He will keep inviolate his coronation oath; and where he protects, he expects obedience. When he sees fit, and observes the people will let him be in love with parliaments, he will call one.

## P Y M.

I tremble for you, when that day arrives. You will do well to defer that hour as long as you can. The people in the mean time will be increasing their clamorous demands. When the body of the people is so greatly injured and inflamed, there is no saying where their fury may begin or may end. They will have all their privileges ascertained and enlarged, demand fresh securities for their religion and their property, and expel all arbitrary and evil Ministers from the throne.

## S T R A F F O R D.

I see we are not likely to return to our former good fellowship, nor to part with mild inclinations to each other. You fancy yourself already exhibiting a catalogue of grievances, that are to be reported afterwards to the deluded multitude. I hope you have no intentions of removing old land-marks, nor altering the established forms of the monarchy.

## P Y M.

## P Y M.

It surely cannot be high-treason to endeavour to mend the constitution, when it is found to be out of order, and even giving way? When that is become necessary, as soon as an opportunity presents, the people, the origin of all power, and for whom all government is made, will not perhaps pay a superstitious regard to the forms that are erected, but will right themselves in their own way.

## S T R A F F O R D.

I am ready to face a parliament and an impeachment, even brought up by yourself. My integrity is a breast-plate, and the King will not suffer a hair of my head to be touched. I little thought, at one time, you would have denounced such enmity against me, and that our interests should have been so wide asunder. Our prospects have set our opinions at variance. I wish our professed regard for the public could induce us to consult together, in order to prevent any tumults that may possibly arise, and might

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involve the nation in anarchy and civil commotion. If the account of my former behaviour does not satisfy you, I am prepared to offer you more apologies for my line of conduct.

P Y M.

The die is already thrown. You have chosen your side, and I have taken mine. There is no occasion for more apologies for your behaviour nor your principles. In one word, my Lord, you have left us; but I will never leave you, while you have a head upon your shoulders.

#### N O T E.

Wentworth was reconciled to the Court, and made a Viscount in 1628; and Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1633. Carte, Eachard, and Wellwood especially, who fixes this conversation at Greenwich, acknowledge a Conference of an high expostulatory nature, between Strafford and Pym (the particular day the Editor cannot ascertain), which ended with this threatening declaration, Pym, who had good intelligence of Strafford's design against him and his friends (for he had intended

intended to accuse them of high-treason that day), resolved to be before-hand with him, and took advantage of the moment of his being in the House of Peers; had the doors of the Commons locked, framed a set of articles against him, carried up the impeachment to the other House, and made his threats good, by pursuing him to the block. Pym shortened his days in the popular cause, as did his compatriot Hampden, in Chalgrave-field. He died of a distemper, according to Clarendon, which was very little known in England, and was considered as a judgment by the vulgar. But other Writers assert it was a falsehood; and that his body was exposed, for a day or two, on purpose to disprove it. A Nobleman, in a discourse on the subject before us, was observing, that the charge of Pym against Strafford, on account of some gallantries in Ireland, was hardly fair, because Pym was notoriously addicted to amours. Pym was so popular, that he was commonly called King Pym.—Strafford had been a staunch enemy to arbitrary measures, and had, in the tone of a stout Englishman, contended (as De Lolme, a sensible foreigner residing amongst us, quotes from our history), *that grievances and supply should go hand in hand together.* He sat out in high opposition to the Duke of Buckingham. The rough proceedings he advised against him, and

the vehement language he employed, came home to himself, and were amply retaliated, when he rose to be a Minister of State. His expressions against Buckingham fell little short of the brutal eloquence which Solicitor General St. John employed in support of his attainder, when he asserted, “ We give law to hares and deer, because they are beasts of chace ; but we have no scruple to knock foxes and wolves on the head, because they are beasts of prey.” His defence of himself at his trial, which took up twenty days, in the opinion of Whitlock, who was one of the managers against him, was the most ready, the best tempered, eloquent, and pertinent, that could be made, and melted all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity. He was, singly, a match for all his accusers. His courage, personal and political, set him above all fear. His consciousness of the superiority of his abilities, made him despise other men too much. He came into the King’s measures very readily, in company with those silenced Patriots, Noy, Diggs, and Saville ; possibly upon conviction, that Puritanism and Republicanism were going to overturn the constitution. But the granting him a good intention in changing sides (for his crime, according to Whiggism, is apostacy), will perhaps be allowing him enough. However, he thought he could not be rewarded too soon,

soon, nor too highly: and yet he was obliged to wait two years, notwithstanding his claim and pretensions, for his Earldom, and the Garter. King Charles says of him, in his book (if it is his), that Lord Strafford was a Gentleman, a Prince might be rather afraid than ashamed to put into the highest employments. Lord Digby's expression of him is, of a man who possessed the rarest talents, of which God had given the use, but the Devil the application: and he goes on characterising him, as a monster of tyranny and oppression. He was so vigilant a Governor of Ireland, for which he had done great things, that it is but candour to bring forward (and why should candour be afraid of finding any thing right, even in an unpopular character?), that it is very probable the Irish Rebellion would not have broke out, if he had continued there as Lord Lieutenant. He was over-persuaded by the King, to attend his duty in Parliament; who promised him, that not a hair of his head should be touched; and even wrote him a letter, during his trial, that he should be safe. Magnanimous was his behaviour, when the King was thrown into the deepest perplexities and agonies, about signing the bill of attainder (that dangerous violation of legal security) against him. Charles unluckily called in the men of casuistry on the occasion, We have great reason to believe, that he

he wrote the letter to his master, which we have in print, to disengage him from his difficulties ; and offered himself a willing sacrifice, at the altar of democracy, for the peace of the King and the kingdom. He was taken at his word, and the King repented of the weakness of consenting to his death, to the last moment of his own life. A lesson to Kings, not to employ servants unacceptable to the Public ; not to give way to injustice ; not to violate their consciences ; not to consign a great Minister to popular fury ! Strafford's expression of contempt of the populace (as mentioned by Mr. Walpole, who is possessed of more anecdotes than any person in the three kingdoms) is very spirited. The Lieutenant of the Tower desired him to get into a coach, that he might not be torn in pieces by the rabble. “ *I die,*” said Strafford, “ *to please the people, and I will die their own way.*” Holles, his brother-in-law, undertook that his life should be saved, if he would advise the King to consent to put down the order of Bishops. He replied, he would not buy his life at so dear a rate. Unsuccessful endeavours had been made for his escape. His head was struck off at a blow ; and so little blood followed, that it was concluded he could not have lived much longer. Clarendon observes, that his destruction was brought on him by the two things he affected most to despise,—the people,

people, and Sir Harry Vane; and that, like the Dictator Sylla, no man exceeded him in acts of bounty to his friends, or in taking ample revenge upon his enemies. Cardinal Richlieu, on hearing of the death of Strafford, was reported to have said, "that the English must be very foolish, for, that they would not let their wisest head stand upon its own shoulders."

## CONFERENCE II.

SIR BENJAMIN RUDYARD AND  
MR. HAMPDEN.

[Held in 1642.]

## R U D Y A R D.

I HAVE taken the liberty to send for you, and to confer with you, for the last time, being confident I shall never sit in the House with you again. I am going to bid a final adieu to this earthly scene, and it is a great concern to leave my native country involved in the horrors of a civil war. I die with a broken heart; and have too much reason to complain, I have been misled by your and Mr. Pym's erroneous judgment, " that the King " was so ill beloved by his subjects, that he " had neither friends to stand by him, nor " interest or money to raise an army."

H A M P.

## H A M P D E N.

I am ready to vindicate myself from the charge, and am desirous to calm the perturbations of a sick bed, and of distempered thoughts. If things have taken a different turn from what the most sagacious have foreseen, no imputation ought to be cast on me, or my associates. My resistance was founded, like your own, in a resolution to bring back the constitution to its original free principles, and to reclaim our limited monarchy from its swift deviation into absolute despotism. We thought, that when we had obliged the King to deliver up Lord Strafford, he could deny us nothing.

## R U D Y A R D.

I rejoiced with you and Pym, when the head of that arbitrary Statesman was severed from his body: I then hoped, that all our fears and dangers were at an end, and that the King would give up his old Counsellors, and fling himself into the management of the popular leaders.

## H A M P D E N.

I and my co-adjutors meant to avail ourselves of the King's giving way, and were resolved not to give way ourselves. So little thought had I of the sword being about to be drawn on both sides, that I was upon the point of engaging in the immediate service of the Crown. The untimely death of the Earl of Bedford frustrated all our designs, and put an end to our making it up with the King.

## R U D Y A R D.

Had ambition nothing to do with your intended coalition of parties, when Pym was to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and you demanded to be Governor to the Prince of Wales? Was there no vanity in the desire of educating the Heir-apparent in your own principles?

## H A M P D E N.

If the nomination of a new Ministry were in contemplation, it demonstrates, that, at one time, I had no intention of quarrelling with

with the King, nor of driving him to the necessity of setting up his standard at Nottingham. I required that proof of his Majesty's confidence, in trusting me with forming the mind of the Prince, which I considered as holding him in hostage for his right behaviour when he came to the throne. I should have discharged that office in the best manner I was able.

RUDYARD.

Happy would it have been for the nation, if those appointments had taken place. Such a designation would have preserved the natural moderation of your temper, and checked the farther alterations in Church and State. Then, those unlucky incidents would not have happened, that made the King desperate, and prompted him to come in person to demand you in the House of Commons. From the moment of that unhappy attempt to seize you and your friends, your calmness and good temper deserted you, and made you quite another man. Davila's History of the Civil Wars of France is become your manual;

you gird on your sword, with great fierceness, and with no unwillingness to stain it with the guilt of civil blood.

## H A M P D E N.

The aggressor, in all cases, is answerable for the consequences. The Crown has encroached on the people, and not the people on the Crown. The executive power endeavours to command the whole legislative. A King of England will find it a difficult thing to subdue the high spirit of the nation, and to convert free-born subjects into slaves. Our King's public acts proclaim his designs to all the world; and of his private speeches we have the most authentic intelligence. Though, in the contest, even Monarchy and the Monarch should fall together, it is our duty to persevere. Something nobler may rise out of their ruins. If we are defeated, it will be punished as a Rebellion; if we succeed, it is no more than a Revolution. We have a command, to assert our freedom by all the methods that God and Nature have put into our hands. We have already gone too far to

make a retreat. I am ready to die in the field, in defence of those declarations I have made in the Senate. The intention of the King to get us into his power, was to retaliate for his friends Strafford and Laud. But neither the vehement orders he accepted from his bigotted Queen (who will continue to exert her popish influence over her uxorious husband, till the Crown falls from his head), which were betrayed to us by Lady Carlisle, soon enough to prevent bloodshed in the House; nor the violent offer of the romantic Lord Digby, to bring us, dead or alive, out of the City, which afforded us protection, gave him possession of our persons. I must confess to you, that all confidence is at an end; and that nothing but the sword can decide, whether privilege or prerogative is to be uppermost. I persuade myself, that the unmanly depression of your spirits, and the despair of your mind, operate on your judgment, and help to alienate your affections from your old friends.

## R U D Y A R D.

My indignation is raised on reflecting, that you have lost so many opportunities of healing the breaches with the King. Have you not been encouraging innovations, petitions, and associations, as the just demands of the people? I repent of the great share I have had in this business. Have you not called in the multitude to help you to pull down the goodly fabric reared by the wisdom of our ancestors? Have you not assembled mobs to violate the public tranquillity, and compelled the King to fly from his Parliament and his capital? If any one could have credibly told me, that within three years we shall have a Parliament, it would have been good news. That ship-money shall be taken away by act of Parliament; that monopolies, the High-Commission Court, the Star-Chamber, the Bishops votes, shall be taken away, the Council Table regulated and restrained, the forests bounded and limited; that we should have triennial Parliaments, and more than that, a perpetual Parliament, which none can dissolve

but

but ourselves; we should have thought this a dream of happiness. Yet, now we are in real possession of it, we do not enjoy it. We stand chiefly upon further security. Let us not think we have nothing, because we have not all we desire; and though we had, yet we cannot make a mathematical security. All human caution is susceptible of corruption and failing. God's Providence will not be bound; success must be his. But how little have all concessions contributed to procure the blessing of conciliation? We are farther off than ever. The original grievances are redressed an hundred fold. I think that England is devoted to destruction, and that you and your accomplices are responsible for the mischief. You will bring on yourselves the curses of the present generation, and of posterity. Was it likely the Crown would suffer itself to be stripped of every hereditary jewel, and that the Sovereign would un-king himself to oblige you; and, to use your own particular phrase, commit himself, and all that is his, to your care? Could I have seen through the villainy and hypocrisy of your pretended reformation

formation in Church and State, which consists all in pulling down, and nothing in building up, I would have lifted my voice like a trumpet, and have endeavoured to make it up with the King, almost at any rate. I would have opposed the *Remonstrance* through another night (though weariness had obliged many to leave the House, and our *Resolution* was like the verdict of a starved jury) with all my authority and energy, and would have died in my seat rather than have let it pass. It is now too late, and opportunity is gone by. Some ill conclusion will overtake you, for what you have already accomplished. The nation, for one Tyrant you complain of, will endure every evil of misgovernment, of anarchy, and of military uproar.

## H A M P D E N.

I am loth to break in upon the enumeration of the possible evils you are brooding over. The agitation of your spirits carries you beyond yourself.

R U D.

R U D Y A R D.

— By what I have already said, I have disburdened my mind. Permit me to speak out my whole soul to you, for I feel that nature is ebbing out very fast.—Your adherents are by no means the wiser or better part of the nation. The Gentry at York out-number those at Westminster. If you have one half of the people on your side, the Crown has the other. The King can do better without a Parliament, than the Parliament without the King. Neither the reiterated assertion of Harry Martin, *that one man is not wise enough to govern all the rest*—nor a victory of the Commons over the Lords and the Crown, will establish a permanent Commonwealth; for a King must be at the head of all.

## H A M P D E N.

When the King, in direct contempt and violation of privilege, entered into the House, pushed the Speaker from his Chair, and had soldiers placed at the door of the Lobby, to obey the stamp of his feet, in order to seize

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the five members (reprehend me not for repeating this never to be forgotten cause of all!) he began to make war on his Parliament \*. What were we to think of his designs, when he undertook to execute the injunctions of the Queen, delivered to him in these angry words: *Go, Coward, and pull those rogues out by the ears, or never see my face any more* †! Well-directed was the cry

into

\* Hampden had reason enough for his assertion and apprehensions, from his belief of the King's arbitrary inclination. He might possibly have known (for nothing was a secret to the party, though the instance was smothered for a century, and revived by that great pioneer of history, Dr. Birch, at the end of his book on Lord Glamorgan), that the King, in 1639, had signed a warrant for cutting off the head of Lord Loudon, who was in the Tower, without a trial, and was with great difficulty dissuaded from it by the Marquis of Hamilton, who became informed of the King's intended violence, just time enough to prevent it.

† The Queen-Mother, on her coming over to reside here after the Restoration, confessed the error of her former conduct; for she declared, in the palace at Somerset-House, that, if she had known as much of the temper of the English nation formerly, as she did then, the Civil War might have been prevented. An honest confession, but no expiation! Buckingham, who would not suffer her to interfere in State affairs during his life, perceiving her meddling disposition, told her, very rudely, that there had been Queens of England,

into the royal coach, as it passed through the city from Guildhall, *To your tents, O Israel!* and *Privilege, Privilege!* We all concluded what the King would do, if he had us in his power. He has marked us out for destruction, and intends to stab the constitution through our sides. He will undo every thing he has granted, or will grant, on pretence of being under compulsion. He admits casuistry into all his councils. Under the superstitious notion of the divine right of Monarchy and Episcopacy, he will annihilate the popular part of the constitution, persecute the opinions and persons of the godly, tolerate Popery, and favour the idolatry of Somerset-House. The people have never been able to gain any thing of their Kings, but by wading through rivers of blood. I am perswaded, that impartial poste-

land, who had lost their heads on a scaffold. What pity a daughter of Henry the Great should have been able to do so much mischief, as is laid to her charge! She is no favourite character with our spirited, female, republican Historian. To the Queen's other faults, there are added, insinuations of her gallantries and infidelity to her fond husband; after whose murder, it is notorious, she was married to Lord Jermyn, by whom she had two children.

rity will dignify the present opposers of grievances with the illustrious name of Patriots ; and will consider every one who falls in the glorious contest, as a martyr in the cause of liberty. I would not express myself with harshness to you, in this dangerous state of your health, concerning your gloomy fears of futurity. The appeal is to the sword. If we do not get the better of the King, we shall have no liberty to value ourselves upon. If the prerogative is victorious, all must end in despotism. But I will not live to see that day.

## NOTE.

Posterity is much indebted to the undaunted integrity of the patriots of the last age. They paved the way to the Revolution in eighty-eight. As all government tends toward despotism, if a Pym and a Hampden had not stepped forth to stem the torrent, to vindicate our old rights, and even to make claim to new ones, the present age would have been strangers to the blessings we now enjoy. Lord Chesterfield gives it as his opinion, in his Letters to his Son, that if King Charles

Charles had not lost his head (without meaning to justify that violence), the nation would have had no liberties at this time.—The Editor has the authority of the Convention in 1660, from the mouth of Sir Harbottle Grimston the Speaker (in condemnation of the expression of Mr. Lenthal, the son of the old Speaker), *that he that first drew his sword against the late King, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head,* to pronounce, “ that the proceedings, at “ the beginning of the Long Parliament, were “ only to bring delinquents to punishment, and “ to vindicate their just liberties.’ Rudyard had been eminent in the Opposition, and had spoke often and ably against the Court, in favour of the constitution. Whitlock and himself, foreseeing that a Civil War was arising, argued with great vehemence for making it up with the King, before it was too late. All our historians agree in the truth of his dying imputations upon Pym and Hampden. These charges reached the ears of Hampden soon enough to disbelieve himself to Sir Benjamin, according to this Conference. Had Rudyard been one of the accused members, he would probably have taken up arms with the rest; for subjects have sometimes as good memories as Kings, who forgive long before they forget.—In the judgment of the Editor, Hampden had not proceeded so far, as to justify Lord

Clarendon

Clarendon (who is a party as well as a judge) in asserting, that, “ like the Roman Cinna, he had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief; and that his death was a deliverance to the nation.” For, in comparison of other offenders, who lived longer, and continued the war against the King unto his death, Hampden was an angel of light. The King, out of policy, or because he did not think him inveterate against monarchy, according to Sir Philip Warwic, intended to have sent him his own surgeon from Tame, on account of the accident from the bursting of a pistol in Chalgrave-field, which his servant had overloaded, that shattered his arm; the excessive pain of which threw him into a fever, that carried him off. The common opinion, which Clarendon has followed, of his being wounded and driven off the field by Prince Rupert’s men, is not founded in truth. When his son-in-law Sir Robert Pye came to visit him, Hampden cried out, “ O ! Robin ! your unhappy present has been my ruin !”—The Editor has some reason to think, that this anecdote was communicated to the historians, by Robert the first earl of Oxford.—The account of his behaviour in his last moments, of Pym’s, and of Chief Justice St. John’s, in the opinion of Eachard, which the Editor adopts, would have been very interesting,

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At this distance, it is impossible to determine the real character of Hampden. Hume, the penetrating and intrepid Historian, will hardly admit him as a good citizen, and a praise-worthy person (having, like most of the parliamentarians, a tang of enthusiasm), even in his first editions, which are more favourable to the opposers of the measures of the House of Stuart, than the last, which he has left us as a legacy. For he says, in the story of his own life, that he altered his History, in above an hundred places, in favour of the Prerogative, and the Tories.— Probably, Hampden, if he had not perished in Chalgrave-field (on the spot, says Superstition, where he exercised the militia against the King, the year before), would have consented to a pacification with the King, at Uxbridge, or at Newport; or, at all events, have prevented the overthrow of Monarchy, and have opposed the usurpation of his kinsman Oliver Cromwell. The long peace that preceded the Civil War, which, according to Clarendon, were the happiest days that England had ever seen, laid a foundation for the sedition and commotions that followed. Like the alteration in the natural world, from sunshine to tempest, this poor country exhibited a scene of disorder, insecurity, and bloodshed, for almost twenty years, and made the governors and governed glad to shake hands and be friends, at the

the Restoration. Hampden has a place at Stowe (and I can hardly forbear copying the inscription), in the Temple of British Worthies, erected by the late Lord Cobham, in which he was probably assisted by his patriotic relations, Lyttelton and Pitt. An English House of Commons shewed a great esteem for his memory. For, in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five, they forgave a deficiency of forty-eight thousand pounds in Mr. Hampden's accounts, as Treasurer of the Navy, in consideration of his great-grandfather John Hampden. The History of the Civil War of the last Age (for the Editor, according to Dryden's declaration, confesses, "they are not "the violent he desires to please," avoids calling it by the name of the Grand Rebellion) will afford a caution to our rulers, how they conduct affairs so unskilfully, as to occasion a jealousy in the subject for his liberties, which Englishmen will always hold dear as their lives; and will furnish an example to the subject, not to magnify grievances, nor to draw the sword too soon, which unforeseen events may make it difficult to sheath; nor give an opportunity to wicked ambition to take its advantage in the contest. True and memorable continues the expression of the Duke of Rohan, quoted by Whitlock in his speech, as a caution and a prophecy, *England is a great creature, which cannot be destroyed, but by its own hand.*

## CONFERENCE III.

SIR HARRY VANE AND MR. WHITLOCK.

[Conjectured about the Beginning of December 1644.]

V A N E.

**A**S we both make the people's welfare our principal aim, and are men of public hearts, though we seek the Lord in a different way, and travel our political journey through separate roads, I wanted to discourse with a man of your temper and discernment, about a matter that, in my judgment, is expedient for me, as one of the Saints, to propose to the House, as a further illustration of my sincerity, and a greater notoriety of my zeal.

W H I T L O C K.

You have already presented yourself with so much fervency and disinterestedness, and

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also abhorrence of the Royal cause, that no additional proofs of devotion to your party, nor of integrity to your country, seem to be required at your hands. The part you took in bringing forward the *solemn league and covenant*, and your unremitting activity against *Lord Strafford*, would remove any suspicions of your firmness.

## V A N E.

I charge myself, before the Lord and the good people of England, with the appearance of being guided by worldly considerations, in that I continue to receive the wages of a lucrative post in the State. The order of Parliament, that every family shall deprive itself of a meal every week, and contribute the expence of one, shall not prevent the oblation of my intended free gift. Though my appointment was before the troubles began, yet I choose not to seem to grow rich in proportion as my country grows poor. Therefore I resolve to appropriate the greatest part of the enormous income of my place, now increased tenfold, towards carrying on this

this just and necessary war, and, in a right time, the treasurership of the navy itself. I do not expect the carnal-mindedness of your profession to forego the profits of a single term in Westminster-hall, nor to plead the cause even of God's people for nothing.

## W H I T L O C K.

If you chuse to give up your grant; and relinquish your office, through the fatigue of it, or for conscience sake, there is no harm done, as I can see. But I do not discover the absolute obligation of serving the Public for nothing, and of reducing one's self to a penurious condition, to gratify any set of men. Sir Harry, you are born to accomplish great things, and should not possess your imagination with such fanatical notions, either that your services are unworthy, or that they ought to go without compensation.

## V A N E.

Conscience dictates to me, that the precedent and example must come from me, of perfect contempt of private interest, and

of the incumbency of serving our country without perquisite or salary. The war is not half ended. I believe the peace of the kingdom cannot be procured by your friends. It requires the interposition of men of another stamp. I wish you to observe, as I observe to you, that the people have not a sufficient number of their representatives to do their business in Parliament. In the consult and enacting of laws, there cannot be too great a number of legislators, and our House cannot have too many of its Members present for that purpose. The various employments in the land and sea service keep so many of the Members from their senatorial duty, that an immediate remedy must be found for so great an inconvenience.

## W H I T L O C K.

If this is a crying evil, what correction does your profound genius suggest ?

## V A N E.

I have it in my contemplation to offer to the House, in the course of a few days, a *self-denying Ordinance.*

W H I T-

**W H I T L O C K.**

Open yourself fully and freely.

**V A N E.**

I shall do so, and I am ready to hear and to obviate your objections. To give dignity to the representation of the People, and to demonstrate the purity and upright intentions of all within the House; I propose, that they shall hold their seats, without receiving any honour from ourselves, or the mammon of unrighteousness from any office or place.

**W H I T L O C K.**

Do you think an honest man will give a wrong vote, because he fills a place of some value? Many of the best servants of the Public, who have by merit obtained a seat, and have come into it without hereditary or acquired wealth, and dedicate their time and talents for the benefit of the State, require the liberal accommodations of life and official profits, for domestic purposes. Who so likely to discharge the function of employment, or so fit for your confidence, as those of your own order and rank? If the Ordinance gets through

through your House, it may not be approved by the Upper one. We have not yet done with the King. I cannot bring myself to imagine, that the Peers can be induced to give their consent.

## V A N E.

The laudable willingness in the Commons to give up their incomes and their posts, will make them very dear to the people without doors, and may stimulate the Peers to tread in their steps ; otherwise, you may perceive by and bye, that they are not so considerable in the State, nor capable of hindering the designs of the Patriots in the other House. The people of England will be taught to look up to us ; and down upon them. We are the reformers of all the evil and corruption under which the nation groans. This renunciation propounded, of taking away all places from the Members of both Houses, is to affect them in the military as well as civil capacity.

## W H I T L O C K.

Let me apprehend you right. You propose, that no Member of either House shall

enjoy any office or command, military or civil.

## V A N E.

That is precisely the object of the Bill I intend to offer. Saints must not be self-seekers, nor men of this world.

## W H I T L O C K.

I think your Ordinance \* is laying an immediate foundation for throwing us into more confusion,

\* The Patriot may learn, from the *self-denying Ordinance*, to beware of all innovations not strictly *constitutional*, how right soever they may appear to the friends of justice, or equal to the friends of liberty. And could any thing be more specious, than that fair distribution of power and profit, in what was called the *New Model*? The Members of the two Houses had ingrossed to themselves all the posts and offices in the Military. This raised suspicions amongst the people, that men who got so greatly by the war, would never be very forward to put an end to it. Hereupon the Parliament, in a fit of affected generosity, passed an *Ordinance*, which separated the interests of the two bodies, by not permitting a Member of either House to receive a Commission in the Army. But what was the effect of this separation? A deluge of independent Republicans broke at once into the camp; which was formed, or pretended to be formed, for the defence of the King and Parliament. Such was the sad issue of an *unconstitutional independence*, arising from the New Model. And all this

confusion, and will make a difference between the Houses ; besides, it will be giving some advantages to the King and his party. Your discarding your great commanders, who have fought and bled for you, and helped you to triumph over your enemies, and obliging them to resign their commissions, let me tell you, is neither fair nor just. You have done wisely to repose yourselves in men of family and estate. They have been true to you ; and when the war is at an end, which all reasonable men hope may be speedily, they are prepared to melt the soldier in the citizen,

## V A N E.

Things have taken a better turn than they portended at the beginning of the troubles. The new men are become excellent officers, have had great experience, and may be de-

this was, to avoid the imaginary danger of a *dependence* strictly *constitutional* ; that is, a *dependence* of the parts on one another ; a *dependence* as necessary for the regular motions of the civil machine of free government, as any the like subordinate combinations in physical or artificial bodies.

See Warburton's Sermons, Vol. 3d.

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pended upon. Essex, Warwic, Manchester, Waller, and others, may be induced to comply with this intended regulation, and resign their commissions.

## W H I T L O C K.

I have not the least doubt, that this great change of men and measures will produce extraordinary effects. Without the gift of prophecy, or of the Spirit, to which you make pretensions, I may affirm, the same superior artifice that is going to be employed to deprive these men of their military honours, will somehow and soon be directed to rob them of their parliamentary rights and privileges. If you have undertaken to exert the force of your eloquence and authority, to procure this new model of the army, since you do me the honour to consult my opinion, take my protest against the fatal ensuing consequences.

## V A N E.

I have embarked with several worthy gentlemen in this affair, and have promised to

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go through with it. This *Ordinance* invests Fairfax with the command of the army, and with the power of filling up every commission, and appoints Oliver Cromwell his Lieutenant-General.

## W H I T L O C K.

Then the army has very little to do, after it has concluded your busines, if it does not stop short first, but to set up for itself whenever it sees convenient. Whoever has the power of the sword, will not be satisfied till it obtains every thing *that* power can procure. Take care how you proceed in this busines. Mark my words. A Fairfax, or even a Cromwell, if he can over-reach the understanding of his General, will come and pull you all out of your seats, and put an end to you as a House of Commons ; and I think will serve you right \*.

V A N E.

\* How true a prophet Whitlock became, hear from his own Memorials, upon Cromwell's expelling the House of Commons, on the 20th of April, 1653. " Thus was this " great Parliament, which had done so great things, wholly " at this time routed, by those whom they had set up, and " that

## V A N E.

When the army is thoroughly purged of the Presbyterian leaven (and I know no other method of doing it), with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, they will go forth and fight our battles, and not wax faint as others have done.

## W H I T L O C K.

You have not sufficiently digested this matter. You are deserting a plain direction of policy, of keeping inseparably together the civil and military departments, where the legislative and executive powers are exercised by a popular assembly. The uniform practice of Greece and Rome, in their times of freedom, is against you. Their senators and great

" that took their commissions and authority from them.  
 " Nor could they in the least justify any action they had  
 " done, or one drop of blood they had spilled, but by this  
 " authority. Yet now the servants rose against their mas-  
 " ters, and most ungratefully and disingenuously, as well as  
 " rashly and imprudently, they dissolved that power, by  
 " which themselves were created officers and soldiers: and  
 " now they took, what they designed, all power into their  
 " own hands." —

men led their armies. The military was made out of the civil character. The people thought they might trust the sword and their cause to one of their own body. The Parliament has no apprehension it can be betrayed or ill-used by one of themselves. They know all is safe, when they can disband more easily than get an army together. What is it you are endeavouring to procure by this bill? Is it to have a master?

## V A N E.

The army thus modelled, and the *Ordinance* passing, with an exception or two, I think we shall be able to manage it to our purpose. The Presbyterians, indeed, first drew the sword against the King, but the Independents are willing to fling away the scabbard. The new commission of Fairfax is not to be so scrupulously worded in favour of the person of the King, as that of Essex or of Manchester.

## W H I T L O C K.

So, you intend to court the protection of the military saints! for your proscription of

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all the moderate and deserving men who began the opposition to Ship-Money, Episcopacy, the Star-Chamber and High-Commission Court, is written in as legible characters as the hand-writing on the wall in the prophet Daniel. Do you suppose an independent army, nay, let me also mark it by another distinction, a mighty host of men that is now to fight for pay and plunder, will be content to take its orders from the unarmed, and perhaps cowardly spirit of a House of Commons? The point of the sword will be levelled at your own throats, and at the vitals of the constitution, and peremptorily dictate what is to be done. Your free proceedings will soon be checked. Petitions and Remonstrances will come thick upon you. The military subaltern knows no rule of conduct but martial law, and will be obliged to execute whatever his General commands. Pompey, like an obedient and unambitious subject, entered Rome, a mere private man, and left his army without the gates. But the decisive Cæsar, in spite of the votes of the Senate, crossed the Rubicon, and made himself

self Dictator. Your mercenary Army will soon erect itself into a military Parliament, and you will have more to dread from it, than from Monarchy and the unsubdued forces of the King.

## V A N E.

The new army will out-pray and out-preach, and therefore out-fight, the old one. The King must be reduced to greater straits before he will submit. This is left for the Independents. The Presbyterians will not go through the work cheerfully. They are for peace upon any terms. A great deal remains to be done, before England can be settled in a free State. When that is accomplished, the reign of *Christ's Kingdom* is to begin. I follow the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Unconvincing and unconvinced, I now take my leave,

## N O T E.

Clarendon, Whitlock, Warwick, and Hollis, give us a copious account of the rise, progress, and fate of the bill that is the subject of this Conference,

Conference, and which, in different shapes, has been presented to the House by all the real and mock patriots down to the present moment. It must be confessed, that Whitlock, though he mentions his opposing in the House *the self-denying Ordinance*, and gives us his arguments, yet is silent with regard to this previous conversation with Vane. But this does not convince the Editor of its being void of foundation. Burnet mentions the method, and it may be recommended to our senatorial men, of Sir Thomas Littleton, who used to talk over with him in the best manner he was able, what he intended to speak in the House, and desired him to reply with all his force. I believe he went over, with Burnet, the arguments for and against the Exclusion Bill. But, to use the words of Bolingbroke, this last anecdote I deliver upon memory, not having the book before me. Sir Harry Vane was over-reached himself (though on another occasion he over-reached the whole kingdom of Scotland, and was indeed a man who saw very far into the minds of other people, while he admirably concealed his own), first, by Cromwell, and then by Monk. After the restoration of Monarchy, to which he was totally undevoted, he was illegally offered up to the injured manes of Lord Strafford, whose attainder was reversed the first sessions. Another word about this extraordinary

extraordinary man, extraordinary in his aspect, as well as character. Vane's pretences to inspiration, and his setting himself *above human ordinances*, made him unfit to pace in the trammels of subjection to any known forms of government. Charles the Second, who did not think the crown firm on his head till a method was adopted to get rid of him, might have said, as Cromwell did to his face, when he turned out the Long Parliament, “ The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane !”

[\*\*] Vane took the lead in the House, on his return from Newport, and spoke against the treaty, which he helped to protract, that the army might have time to come up to London. The stubborn Ludlow made also a speech, or admits, in his History, the necessity there was of putting the force upon the House, by Pride's purge (as it was called), and of thus exalting the Minority into the Majority: an unconstitutional measure, which even the great Milton stooped to justify with his pen. The new Majority cancelled the old vote; and resolved, That the King's concessions were not satisfactory, and that there should be no more Addresses to the King. In a Collection of Letters, that had belonged to Dr. Letherland, there are more than one (if the Editor's recollection

lection does not strangely misgive him) from King Charles to Sir Harry Vane, imploring his interposition for his preservation, before it was too late, and offering him any favours in return. This shews his importance at the moment. Vane's phrensy for the *good old Cause*, as he called it upon the scaffold, prevented him from hearkening to the distress of the King. This supplication and refusal were probably known at the Restoration, and prevented mercy from being shown to him. He was very active in Richard's Parliament (into which he was admitted, on promising to be a quiet Member), and contributed as much in the House, as Desborough did without doors, to the setting the Protector Richard aside. Baxter tells us, that Vane was for a fanatical democracy; and Grainger expresses it very properly, that he was little less profound in mystics, than Jacob Behmen himself.—It is remarked by Eachard, that his fate was hurried on (though the King's word seems to have been pledged for his life) by one of his own kindred, as necessary for the safety of the Government; and that he ought not to be permitted to have it in his power to do more mischief. His death closed the tragedy of the Civil Wars, which Vane had begun with Strafford. Vane lost his head on the same spot, and by the same axe, that the other suffered by. History asserts, that he cohabited with his lady, with

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whom he had been upon bad terms, the night before his execution, who proved to be with child. The son that was born under this planet, lived to be ennobled by King William.

Whitlock, called Sir Bulstrode, from being knighted by Christina Queen of Sweden, by which name he was called up, by writ, to Cromwell's House of Peers, was a good constitutional lawyer, a man of great parliamentary experience, a good speaker, a stickler against prerogative, and of great personal courage. At the treaty at Uxbridge in forty-five, he contended with Hyde about the King's right to the militia. In his heart he was for Monarchy, which he considered as the key-stone of the constitution, whilst he was co-operating with its mortal enemies. He laments (as appears from the last edition of his Memorials), that he had embarked so far, and gone so much farther than he intended into the sea of trouble, that he could not find his way back into the harbour of peace and innocence. Clarendon's expression is, that he went along with the stream (and mentions Maynard at the same time), and was not carried away by malice, like others. He obtained his pardon when the King came over. The Editor perused his letter to Clarendon (which, with many papers, and Clarendon's

Clarendon's original manuscript History of the Civil Wars, were sold some years since), requesting his pardon in form. He was admitted into the presence of the King, who received him very graciously, and dismissed him in these extraordinary words: "Mr. Whitlock, go into the country; " don't trouble yourself any more about State " affairs; and take care of your wife and your " sixteen children." He died of the stone, at the age of seventy, at the end of the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-five. He was not idle with his pen, during his fifteen years retirement. His Notes upon the King's Writ make two volumes in quarto. It is esteemed a work of exquisite learning, and designed by him as a peace-offering to the King, for what he had done against his prerogative and interest. He was a man of excellent talents, of great candour, and (as Guthrie expresses it) one whom we may call, in law and politics, a constitutional free-thinker. He was charged with being a temporiser. He arrived at the head of his profession. When the Rump Parliament was restored, Scott the Regicide, and Secretary of State, threatened to have him hanged (his own conclusion at the Restoration) with the Great Seal about his neck. He had doubts and scruples, yet was prevailed upon, or prevailed upon himself, to act, because, to use his own words, " there was no visible au-

" thority or power for government at that time,  
" but that of the army. That if some legal  
" authority were not agreed upon and settled,  
" the army would probably take it into their  
" hands, and govern by the sword, or set up  
" some form prejudicial to the rights and liber-  
" ties of the people, and for the particular ad-  
" vantage and interest of the soldiery, more than  
" would be convenient. That, hearing the  
" purpose of Vane and others to be, to lessen the  
" power of the laws, and so to change them, and  
" the magistracy, ministry, and government  
" of the nation, as might be of dangerous  
" consequence to the peace and rights of  
" this country; therefore, to prevent that, and  
" to keep things in a better order and form, he  
" might be instrumental in this employment."

—A good excuse, though no justification for his keeping in with *the ruling powers!* He certainly kept out worse men, and did all possible service in his situation. He did not resign, as has been done so often with dexterity in our own times, because he could not have every thing his own way. He might have said, after the Marquis of Winchester, who preserved the Staff of Lord High Treasurer for three reigns, " I am sprung  
" from the Willow, not from the Oak." At the desire of Selden, he undertook the care of the royal library and medals at St. James's, to prevent

prevent their being sent out of the Kingdom. Hale (afterwards Sir Matthew), who was in Parliament at this time, out of a design, as Burnet, his Biographer, expresses it, *to binder mischief rather than to do much good*, opposed the motion of the Enthusiasts and Usurpers, *to destroy all the Records of the Tower, and to settle the nation upon a new foundation.* The age was much obliged to such men as Hale and Whitlock, for withstanding the rage of these brutal Reformers.—Though Whitlock was favoured by Cromwell, for whom he drew up *his Instrument of Government*, he was sent out of the way, for a while, on an embassy to Christina, Queen of Sweden. If the very important advice he gave to General Fleetwood, which he mentions in his Memorials, had been taken, it might have prevented the restoration of Monarchy, or have disappointed Monk of the honour and the advantages he derived from it.—His Memorials contain the most impartial account of the Civil Wars; which would have been more perfect, if, as he tells us in his own Memorandum, his wife had not burned many of his papers relating to the public affairs.—The inquisitive may obtain an idea of the person of Whitlock, from the impression of a medal that had been struck of him during his embassy at Stockholm, and is printed, in a late

singular Work, entitled, Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Hollis. Whitlock has there a manly and intelligent look.

Excuse, Reader, the length of this Note; for such men do not rise every day, to make so conspicuous a figure on the political theatre, as Sir Bulstrode Whitlock !

## CONFERENCE IV.

OLIVER CROMWELL, LORD PROTECTOR,  
AND  
EDMUND WALLER, OF BEACONSFIELD.

[Supposed to be held at Whitehall, sometime in 1654.]

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C R O M W E L L .

**A**S the door was not shut, you overheard part of the conversation without.— Cousin Waller! I must talk to these men after their own way.

W A L L E R .

Your Highness has enough to do to accommodate yourself to people of so many different humours, who desire to speak with you.

C R O M W E L L .

And yet, that is the labour of my whole life. I find I am a match for men of all principles; for

for the Saints, the Godly Republicans, your Monarchy-men, Millenarians, Papists, and I think every sect, except the Heathens; I mean Harrington, Nevil, Sydney, and the rest, upon whom I can make no impression.

## W A L L E R.

The vastness of your Highness's genius enables you to set all these people right, and to find sufficient arguments to prove them in the wrong. But were not your own intentions so pure and so clear, might not your pre-eminent talent in overcoming the scruples of so many, and in bending them to your purpose, obtain an influence over their minds and consciences, that is not safe to be lodged in any one person?

## C R O M W E L L.

There is no occasion for these fulsome compliments. But I believe they arise naturally from that polite temper that was bred in Courts and nursed in Parliaments. Whilst I think on it, let me applaud your muse for your panegyric, to my Lord Protector. Now we

we are together, I would have you speak to me very plainly, for there is nobody to listen, or to betray us.

## W A L L E R.

Your permitting me to return from banishment, assures you of my most unfeigned gratitude and pious wishes for the prolongation of your life and government. If your Highness takes me into the bosom of your confidence, my familiarity shall follow of course.

## C R O M W E L L,

What would you have one in my station do? I must preserve myself at all events, by keeping the same line of conduct that brought me hither. I must use every artifice to entice every body into my interest. I fasted and prayed with the Saints, and was even a preacher of sermons, and with very good success, as long as I found that measure to be absolutely necessary. In my present elevation, I spare nor money, nor promises, nor even tears, to perpetuate my authority, to ensure my safety, and extend the glory of

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my country. Any one that I hear is fit for my purpose, I get into my service, by every method I can think of. Provided I find my account in engaging men to come over to me, my mind never revolts at what I have done. My ends must sanctify my means.

W A L L E R.

You have admirable expedients for keeping things together, and playing one party against the other.

C R O M W E L L.

To be free with you, I consider myself, and it is not unusual amongst the Saints, as a man above all ordinances. Whatever is necessary, with me is lawful. That which would be hypocrisy, duplicity, and tyranny, in another (and which I should think to be such, in my private condition), are the justifiable engines of my government.

W A L L E R.

Your Highness would not sleep in safety in your bed, if the notion upon which you act were made too public. For, if every man

(I presume only to speak logically, on the principle) is above ordinances, and every man has a right to judge what is necessary to himself, and to make that necessity justify all the means, every man is at liberty to do what he will.

## C R O M W E L L.

The maxim is only for the benefit of the elect. Even Sir Harry Vane notoriously thinks thus of himself, and therefore, shall not I? It is to me the call to exercise unlimited power, for the good of the people, who are entrusted to my charge. I see my way pretty well before me, because I possess a kind of intuitive knowledge of the intentions of mankind, and am able to measure the size of their understandings.

## W A L L E R.

Your Highness is certainly a more favoured man than Sir Harry Vane.

## C R O M W E L L.

To go on. By my superior penetration into the most disguised characters, I have been too many for every one who has been in the

way of my pretensions. I became master of the spirit of Fairfax, and made him pave the step to my command of the army, and to the post of Chief Magistrate. I flatter Lambert with the hopes of succeeding me, though I mean no such thing ; and so keep him in obedience and dependence upon me. When I thought my influence in the army was going to be affected, I conjured up, and laid afterwards, though with personal hazard, the dangerous rising of the agitators.—Cousin Waller ! my rule is, to perform every thing in the name of the Lord.

## W A L L E R.

Whilst the people are willing to believe you on your word, that you seek the Lord on all occasions, you will certainly find them submissive enough to your will and pleasure.

## C R O M W E L L.

To be frank with you, I have made a laughable business before now of this. For the Saints knocked at the door, whilst a consultation of officers was held in a room on  
matters

matters of the last importance, where we refused them admittance, by telling them we were seeking the Lord, when, in truth, we were only seeking the cork-screw that fell under the table.

## W A L L E R.

I know that a pleasant humour, and even a piece of buffoonery, now and then, have served you in good stead. Your Highness now puts on a stronger armour. Whilst you propagate and support the doctrine, that *Dominion is founded in Grace*, you will not suffer yourself to be stripped of your power. It will not be easy to take out of your hand the sword of the Lord and of Gideon.

## C R O M W E L L.

Besides my argument from success and nomination by Parliament, I had a revelation in my childhood (which I am told is handed about), that I shall enjoy unlimited power.

## W A L L E R.

So had Numa, so had Manco Capac, and every great warrior and legislator. The declaration

claration of the oracle is verified, and you are happily arrived at the pinnacle of human veneration.

## C R O M W E L L.

And yet, this is not all. The vision spoke darkly and doubtfully about my being King. This, joined to my recollection of a character in a play I personated, whilst a Royster at Cambridge, where a crown and sceptre fell into my lap, which at that moment, as a lucky omen, I took to myself, though I since totally forgot it, till after Worcester fight, makes me think there may be something in it \*. But my weight of greatness is already heavier than I can bear. I am not a man to be discomfited or elevated by a dream. Time is the best interpreter, and to him I leave the completion of the prophecy, one way or the other.

## W A L L E R.

Your Highness has nothing to do but to continue to talk to every man in his way ; and

\* In 1649, according to Eachard, was printed and dispersed, a book, entitled, *The Character of King Cromwell* ; which, though suppressed as a Libel, was even received as a kind of prophecy.

every

every thing that ambition itself could desire, or the good of the nation can demand, you will be able to bring about. Say but the word, and you can change one title to another; for, as you expressed it before your glorious victory at Dunbar, the Lord has delivered them into your hands.

## C R O M W E L L.

We will have done with this subject for the present. Let me see you again, for I shall have occasion to converse with you. I must now to Council.

## N O T E.

That the subject of this Conference is not fictitious, may be proved from the account of Waller himself, who also mentions his frequent access to Cromwell, which undoubtedly furnished opportunities enough of communicating a great deal, if an amanuensis had been at hand. The story of his contract and conversation with the Devil, that seems not to be absolutely incredible to Eachard the Historian, would have looked singular on paper; it would have been short, yet curious.

Cromwell's

Cromwell's enthusiasm and hypocrisy are too well known, and his ambition was severely felt. Waller had all the fulsomeness of flattery charged on him by the Protector, and, though a man of honour, had too little courage to be at the head of any but the poetical party. His gratitude to Cromwell, in a fine copy of verses on his death, when he had nothing to hope or to fear from him, was much to his commendation. King Charles, some years after his return, asked Waller, alluding probably to this spirited composition, why he did not write as well on him as on the Usurper? who replied in the language of a courtier, " We poets, " Sir, succeed best in fiction." This anecdote has been told an hundred times. Excuse it, Reader: the Note is not much the longer for it.

**CONFERENCE V.**

**CROMWELL, FLEETWOOD,  
DESBOROUGH,**

[In St. James's Park, April 25th, 1657.]

**CROMWELL.**

THE Committee of the House of Commons have given me reasons, which they deem unanswerable, for my accepting the title of King. They have so confounded my judgment, that I am highly at a loss what satisfactory answer to give them. I have taken time to consider. To-morrow is fixed for my final determination. I have been seeking the Lord, night and day, but have received no help. I appointed a meeting in this place, in order to hear your objections, or to receive your exhortations to my compliance with their requests.

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F L E E T .

## F L E E T W O O D.

I think you are put upon this by your enemies. It will be impossible for me to continue to serve you, if you listen to the sinful suggestions of the Committee. I beg leave to be permitted to retire, and to look on. Have we not taken the oath, to be true to a Commonwealth, without a King and a House of Peers, from which no power upon earth can absolve us?

C R O M W E L L,

The Parliament, which is to all intents and purposes the People, is omnipotent. They who enjoined the oath, can dispense with it, or supersede it. Your conscience puts ropes and cords in your way, to hinder your footsteps, and to throw you down. Know better than to oppose the progress of your future elevation. I can do more for my relations, in one capacity, than another, and can settle the nation (which surely is wanting reft) by the sound of one name, better than another.

F L E E T.

F L E E T W O O D.

Your taking upon you the title of King, will be the downfall of yourself and the family of Cromwell; besides defeating the designs of the godly, who have assisted to raise you to the giddy height of Lord Protector.

H . H O U S B O R O U G H:

Was it for this we have been fighting for so many years against Monarchy, and brought Charles Stuart to the block, only to make thee King? C R O M W E L L.

I have been engaged with you all, against the tyranny and oppression of Kingship, but not against the four letters that constitute the word King. I cannot easily determine to put any thing into execution, either way, against your pressing solicitations to the contrary; but, I am certain, it is impossible to make the becoming reply Parliament has a right to expect, if you hesitate to stand by me in the business. Whatever I shall do in it, shall be

for your sakes, as well as my own. But, I am apprehensive, I shall now find it a more arduous task to manage affairs, with the style of Protector, than I did before Pack and Jephson moved in the House, that the Crown should be offered to me. When I reproved the latter for his presumption, he told me, he should not ask \* my leave to follow the dictates of his conscience, in that House. He pleaded conscience for acting on one side, as you do on the other. The arguments of the Committee will not be long a secret, but must get abroad. The people call aloud for a King. The men of the Long Robe are particularly urgent for that office and title. It is a maxim with them, that the King never dies; and Lenthal expresses it well, in saying, that there has been in effect but one King, since Monarchy first set its foot here; for all legal proceedings always run, or ought to have

\* Jephson's reply (but we have not the whole of it in this Conference) to Cromwell, on his affected anger towards him, puts the learned Reader in mind of the artful and corrupt expressions of Messala Valerius to Tiberius; which the classical and sagacious Hurd descants upon, in his Essay on the Marks of Imitation.

run, in the name of King, to this day, and forever.

### D E S B O R O U G H.

The cunning of the Lawyers has conducted you to a precipice. They always have some bye purposes of their own to answer. I hope to live to see the time when there shall not be a Lawyer in the House. If you hearken to them, your power will soon crumble to nothing. You will not trace your road back again, if you get into the labyrinth of the selfish and subtle tribe of the Law.

### C R O M W E L L.

But others, besides Fiennes, Whitlock, Lenthall, and my dear friend St. John, conjure me to change my title. Broghill, Howard, Montague, Wolsey, Cooper, and Onslow, men who do not belong to Westminster Hall (and, though they neither preach nor pray, and are not of the number of the Saints, yet I would trust my life with them), undertake to bear me out, on my assuming the title of King. But I am told, the people also are impatient

impatient for a King. They are afraid, however unjustly, of the undefined authority of a Lord Protector. Custom is a great matter. I wish I could bring you both over to my way of thinking on the melancholy posture of affairs, and that you could be persuaded to lend me a helping-hand to put things into their ancient channel. Hinder me not from governing the people by the old name they have been used to.

## D E S B O R O U G H .

Are not the name and office of King already forgot? Has not the word been expunged from our Journals, Records, and Ordinances? Does not the Coinage bear another image and superscription? Did not every thing proceed in the form of a Republic, for ten entire years, till you arbitrarily erased that term, and put the obsolete one of Protector in its stead? Were not the actions of the Republic, by sea and land, at home and abroad, the most glorious that England ever saw? Had I been called in to deliver my opinion to the Committee, it should have been, to make a

Settlement without any thing of Monarchy in it. I protest against every thing that shall be said or done by you in furtherance of this pestilent design.

C R O M W E L L .

This is not a season for altercation amongst ourselves. The common enemy will take advantage of our personal disputes. Moderate your temper, good Desborough ! and listen to me with more patience, and observe upon me with less asperity. I avow the necessity of putting an end to the Long Parliament. I ordered the Speaker to leave the Chair.—I told the Members \* to their faces—that they were no Parliament—that they had sat long enough—I bid them begone—that they should make way for honester men—that the Lord

\* Thus, by one bold effort of genius, Cromwell, in a few minutes, effected a work, which would have cost a French or an Italian politician his whole life to have brought about ; and, in the end, he might have been the sacrifice of his own intrigues.—Cromwell behaved with so much fury in the House, that it was visible, that, in case of actual resistance, he would have put every man who drew a sword against him to death.

GUTHRIE.

had

had chosen other instruments to do ~~the~~ work. I ordered the doors to be locked, and put the keys in my pocket.—This imperious language I thought it my duty to hold; for they were at the instant about perpetuating, instead of dissolving themselves, as they had promised. They had taken upon them the whole legislative and executive powers, and were going to annihilate our importance in the State by disbanding the army. It was surely the right time to put them down (notwithstanding St. John's and Garrison's earnest dissuasions), when they were about to make cyphers of us. My work was not completed, till I dissolved, in the afternoon, the Council of State; which I did, in spite of the objection of honest Bradshaw the President.—But to return: My present authority (though I consider myself only as the Great Constable of the nation, to preserve the peace, and submit to carry the Staff in my hand, through necessity, and because I have a call thereto) is misinterpreted by many, as an Usurpation. The title of King, however insignificant in my own eyes, would be a donation from the people,

people, by the hands of their representatives, and stifle all complaints. My mind and body are almost overcome with the excessive fatigue, and the difficulty of keeping things from falling to pieces. My present title prevents me from giving universal satisfaction. Let me have the love, as well as the admiration, of the good people of England.

## D E S B O R O U G H .

If you are worn out, give up your *Trust*. You had better resign, and become a private person. Better be the servant, than the master, of the Public. The People ought to have no master. Restore the Long Parliament. They will take you at your word, and be glad to have the weight of Government on their own shoulders, which your's are no longer able to bear. But I see you have other intentions. Take back my commission, for my conscience will not permit me to draw my sword for you. What would Ireton, the friend of the army, and the hopes of the godly, say and do at this juncture? That British Cassius, as he was called in forty-eight,

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would

would have stabbed any man that wanted to be Cæsar. Kings were intended to be the scourges of mankind. God sent one to the Israelites, in his wrath, and at their own desire.

## F L E E T W O O D .

I have been on my knees before the Lord, to avert the evil of this hour from falling upon your head, and upon ours. I tremble to think of the surprise and indignation of the whole army, who have fought and bled at every pore, upon the strength of your own declarations and professions, when they find you are so greedy to take upon you the title of King. They will undoubtedly proclaim you a traitor to their interest, and an apostate from the good old Cause,

## D E S B O R O U G H .

You will not be able to keep the regal title in your family. Is your son Richard fit to succeed you, as the most worthy? Is he fit to make a King of? Will the nation pay submission to his will and pleasure, and swear allegiance

allegiance to so insignificant a character? Will the army be attached to so unwarlike a disposition?

## C R O M W E L L.

Let not this give you any trouble or concern. The people will be more dazzled with the crown than I shall. It will purge all defects, and beget a voluntary acquiescence. It will be of great use and advantage, in such times as these, to curb the insolencies of those whom the present powers cannot controul. I shall need no further excuse for governing with the iron rod of necessity. To satisfy the Saints, I will direct Goodwin and Sterry to produce the text that gives me the diadem. I reckon I shall be more safe than I now am. Having conquered the three kingdoms, I think I have a right to govern them. The Parliament, for their own security as well as for mine (if a man at the head of sixty thousand \* troops can be insecure, and want a shield), demands me to rule the nation with the sceptre as well

\* This number is corroborated by Sir William Temple, who had been a Page in the court of the Lord Protector.

as the sword. The good people of England will find themselves justified in swearing allegiance, from the statute of Henry the Seventh, made on the spur of the occasion, to the King in possession, whether by election or descent. Charles Stuart and his party are greatly alarmed at the thought of the parliamentary offer. They wait with impatience and wonder for my determination, and are distractedly afraid that the title may be hereditary in my family, if once I am invested with it. Their terrors become an argument for wishing, that your approbations may second the humble petition of the Committee.

## D E S B O R O U G H .

I can never again submit to Monarchy, which is put down, and has been voted—chargeable—useless—and dangerous \*. What

\* *Chargeable*—because, in the language of Milton, the great champion of the Independents, the trappings of Monarchy will set up a Commonwealth: *Useless*—because the people are able to govern themselves; and, according to some very liberal opinions, every man ought to be his own master and legislator: *Dangerous*—on account of the invariable notion of Levellers and Enthusiasts, that where there is Kingship, there can be no Liberty.

The EDITOR.

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is this but to return to our old bondage? How will Bradshaw, Haflerig, Vane, Harrison, Wildman, Harrington, Nevil, Pride, Hugh Peters, and Joyce (who did you the service of cutting off the King's head), receive the news of the restoration of Monarchy in your person? Remember the spirit that threw down the statue of Charles Stuart, in the Royal Exchange, and engraved under it, "The last "of our Tyrants." Are we to give up the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Directory for Episcopacy, and be compelled to be witnesses of an House of Lords springing up, that we thought we had effectually put down?

## F L E E T W O O D.

The Lord will certainly spit in your face, if you go on and give free scope to vanity and to false ambition \*. You cannot be greater

\* Fleetwood was a frank *Enthusiast*, without parts or capacity: Lambert, a cool contriver, without fanaticism: and Sir Harry Vane, who had great parts and great enthusiasm, yet had them and used them in so preposterous an order, as to do him no kind of service. For the History of those times informs

greater than you are already. If you think to arm yourself with more power than is settled upon you, expect to be more hated as well as more feared. But be not solicitous for titles, which are an abomination to us all. For the governing by one person only, is detested and detestable to all the godly, even under the licensed name of Protector. I marvel that they have borne, so submissively, one man to be greater than all the rest, when our original engagements were for an equality, and the pulling down all orders of men that were above us.

## D E S B O R O U G H.

Lambert will have particular cause to be disengaged, and he may affect to be disappointed. Your Highness may understand my meaning. But let him look after his own interest, and attend to his particular hopes and fears. For my part, I shall certainly abandon you to your ill fortune, if you are

informs us, that he began, a sober and sedate Plotter: but, when now come in view of the goal, he started out the wild-est and most extravagant of Fanatics. WARBURTON.

obstinately bent on taking this desperate course. You have got the Royalists under your feet. Keep them there. If farther sequestrations or decimations are necessary, do not spare them. In spite of your dexterity, in playing one party against the other, they will all turn against you; for, the moment you suffer the crown to be placed upon your head, the army will set up for itself; martial-law will probably prevail, and every ordinance may be dictated by the point of the sword. You will then feel the want of your adherents and your relations, who are already beginning to fall off. The nation will be torn in pieces, by the disputed titles of a Cromwell and a Stuart; a new, barbarous Civil War may commence; and what will become of you in the contest, it is easy to prophesy.

## C R O M W E L L.

I think that my interest in the army is so great, that nothing can shake it. I have modelled it almost to my mind. I have cashiered Harrison and Lambert, and some others,

others, who oppose my views; and I have taken away their power of hurting me and mine. Monk I can detain in Scotland, where he is fully employed. If I find any cause to distrust him (and I have had my eye upon him for some time), I will remove him, and send one of you to succeed him. My son Harry governs Ireland with great popularity, and is at the head of a good army entirely at his devotion. If I find my connexion with Mazarine is thought to be against the interest of my country, I will alter my system, and close with Spain, who bids high for my friendship, and is desirous of my alliance with her against France. The splendour of my public behaviour will make me considered as a good Englishman, and idolised at home, Secretary Thurlo will procure me sufficient intelligence of all the plots against my person and government. Justice shall continue to be impartially administered, and the Protestant religion tolerated under every form.

## F L E E T W O O D.

I conjure you, Sir, not to be led away with false persuasions and meteor-like delusions. Be true to your family, and your family will be true to you. Forsake not the good old Cause, for which we have so often ventured our lives. The army, who raise no objection to your present power, will not desert you. The Independents are too mighty for the Presbyterians; and you have taken the fword out of the hands of the Royalists.

## C R O M W E L L.

How can I stir a step, if my co-adjutors and my own kindred threaten to leave me to myself, on a point that is but a trifle to them! The Lord tempts me with a Crown and a Sceptre, and yet you will not suffer me to reach out my hand to take them. I must submit myself to your humours, if you will have it so, and abide by the consequences. Hard, that the obstinacy of two men should be too mighty for the wisdom of Parliament, and my own sagacity! I shall displease the

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Committee with my reply. But I can resolve on nothing, against your whimsies. The world will think me a madman, or an idiot; but I cannot help it. I must not regard their conclusions, nor even the sentence of posterity. I am the best and only judge of my own situation.

## D E S B O R O U G H.

You do right to waver in your resolutions, and to reflect on your own rashness. Hearken, before it is too late, to our advice. Ruin would instantly follow the guidance of your own prejudices and fancies. I have it on the most certain and positive information, that you will be assassinated in an hour (and I could tell you by what hand) after the crown was placed upon your head.

## C R O M W E L L.

No more of this, I beseech you. My coat of mail would preserve me from that stroke of danger; and my soul is above all fear. Our conversation cannot be over-heard, and, I trust, will never be reported. The Lord has

great

great things for me to do, and he will not let me die this time. I must retire, and seek the Lord, to disengage me from the agony of mind your foolish scruples have thrown me into; and to compose my thoughts, and prepare my utterance before the Committee, against that important and dreadful hour arrives.

## NOTE.

Fleetwood was a man of a mild temper, but a weak understanding. He rose, from a trooper, to be Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Commander in Chief of the army in England. He was all over an Enthusiast, and a Republican, and almost always upon his knees in prayer. He married Cromwell's daughter, the widow of Ireton. He had his pardon at the Restoration (after having pleaded guilty, in company with the Regicides, at the Old Baily), which he might have prevented, or availed himself of. But he was always in the power of others:—of Cromwell—of Lambert—of Vane. He lived in retirement at Stoke-Newington, and married a second wife, by whom he had several daughters. He survived

the Revolution, as did Richard Cromwell, who died in the year 1712, at the age of eighty-one, and finished his inoffensive, though inglorious life, as little known and enquired after as his brother-in-law; and died almost in the same neighbourhood. Their familiarities and connexions were chiefly among the Dissenters.

Desborough had been called from the profession of the Law, where he was not making any figure, by the madness of the times, and behaved well in his military capacity. He was married to a sister of Cromwell. He and Fleetwood were appointed two of his fourteen provincial Major-Generals. It is conjectured he was not a quiet subject after the Restoration, for his name appears in several proclamations. When or where he died, cannot be discovered. He was a boisterous, overbearing man. He behaved with great contradiction and insolence to Cromwell; and treated his son Richard, after he succeeded to the Protectorship, with so much scorn and contempt, that he became the principal cause of his being deposed by the Cabal of Wallingford-House. He was by profession and by principle for a Republic—and a tool to Lambert.

Of Cromwell, what can the Editor tell more than is generally known? The whole world is

is acquainted with his character, and was once afraid of him,

If ravish'd with the whistling of a name,  
See Cromwell damn'd to everlasting fame !

However superfluous it may be, the Editor will collect and recollect what he can, for the perusal of the less informed reader.

Cromwell was of a romantic frame of body. The features of his face were masculine and fierce. His countenance, as it appears on his coin, from the masterly hand of Symmonds, and the best pictures of him, represent the head and face of a lion. A certain northern Potentate, who visited England about twelve years ago, when he was shown an original picture of Cromwell, at Sidney College in Cambridge, of which he was a Member in 1616, cried out, " I declare, he makes me shudder!"—He was a Gentleman, by birth and by education. After he left the University, he was placed in Lincoln's-Inn, for the study, if not the profession, of the law; which he soon abandoned, and also a town life, and became a farmer and grazier in the country. The earlier parts of his life, beyond his thirtieth year, were not passed to his credit, and gave no prognostication of his future greatness. At length he was possessed

fessed with the spirit of religious enthusiasm. He married a lady of good family, and remotely related to the Stuarts. His house was converted into a Conventicle. By indulging his religious reveries and illuminations, he neglected his rustic occupations, and had reduced his fortune ;—when his accidental election to represent the town of Cambridge made him known, and introduced him on the theatre of the world. His relationship to Hampden, the clownishness of his dress, the roughness of his temper ; his vehement and absurd opposition to the draining of the Fens ; his zeal against Popery and Episcopacy, and the breaking out of the troubles, displayed the singularity and greatness of his abilities. He had got on board a ship, with Hampden, Say, and others, to enjoy their religious principles in the wilds of America, as far as possible from the persecution of Laud ; but was stopped, and obliged to land again, by an order of Council. So near was the kingdom to being delivered from him, says Clarendon ! Lord Falkland foretold, that this coarse, unpromising man, pointing to Cromwell, would be the first person in the kingdom, if the nation came to blows. Archbishop Williams whispered the King, on his visit to him at Bugden, there was *that* in Cromwell, which foreboded something dangerous ; and wished his Majesty would either win him over to him, or get him

him taken off. He soon rose to great consequence in the army. He was in the forty-third year of his age when he raised a troop of horse, which he increased afterward to a regiment, from the sons of yeomen and freeholders, whom he tinctured with his long prayers and puritanical principles. To let them understand how much he was in earnest, he assured them, that he should as cheerfully discharge his pistol against the King, as against a common man. He got Manchester laid aside, for his moderation and indecision against the King's army. Dalbier is said to have instructed him in military knowledge. Clarendon allows him to have been a brave, wicked man. And yet Holles, the able and intrepid Presbyterian champion, calls his courage in question (in which he is followed by Dugdale and Manley, from the information of Dalbier and Crauford), at Edgehill, and treats him, in his Memoirs, as a real coward. Holles could not bear that the plebeian order of men, the Independents, should gain the ascendant; and may be reckoned, on that account, a favourer of the Aristocratic Party. Whatever truth there may be in the charge against Cromwell (but who of the present age can believe it?), it is the first and the last time we hear of such an imputation. And yet the Editor has, somewhere, and lately, read of its possibility, and an excuse

excuse for such an occasional dejection of heart, from his remarkable temperament, which subjected him to hypochondriac disorders. [Since this was transcribed for the press, the Editor has met with Manley's History of those times, from which, the observation must have been extracted. Manley adds, "I mention this (the charge of cowardice) to shew, how the temperature of body and mind may by use and ambition be entirely altered."] He was a Hero at Naseby. When he raised scruples in the mind of Fairfax about fighting against the Scotch Presbyterians; and got to be appointed Captain-General in his stead, he began to see his way, tolerably well. The victory at Dunbar, and especially at Worcester, became, as he expressed it in his letter to Lenthall the Speaker, a crowning victory. He was with difficulty prevented from knighting Fleetwood and Lambert on the field of battle. Ludlow says\*, in his Mémoirs, that Hugh Peters

\* There are well-founded suspicions against the authenticity of Ludlow's Memoirs. The Editor of these Conferences is not certain, that doubts are not already thrown out on this point, in Rawlinson's Method of studying History. But the information he has to lay before the reader, he received many years ago, from an Oracle in History, to whom it was communicated by the late Mr. Andrew Stone. The purport of it is, that after Ludlow's death, which was at Vevay in Switzerland,

Peters told a friend of his, on his return from Worcester, in confidence, that Cromwell would make himself King. When he was informed  
that

Switzerland, his papers, which were numerous, were transmitted to England, and placed in the hands of Littlebury, the translator of Herodotus; who fabricated or prepared the Memoirs, from those materials, for the press. They could not have been entrusted to a better person, to do Ludlow, or his cause, justice; for Littlebury was so immutable a Whig, that he did not go to court during the four Tory years of Queen Anne. Burnet, who has occasion to mention the publication of them (to shew the impossibility of setting up a Commonwealth in England), is without any suspicion of their being put together by any other person. Swift, somewhere, speaks of the poverty of the style or the matter—but of nothing further.—The public has too few histories, printed entire from the manuscripts of great men. If they are drawn up from family-papers, they receive a colour from the style or principles of the compiler. Mutilations in the English history are as old as Hollingshead. It has been already observed, we have not the whole of Whitlock's Memorials.—Where is the manuscript of Burnet's History?—Parker says, that Sheldon left Memoirs of the actions of his own time: but, to the regret of those who know his capacity, not with orders for publication at any future period; as was the case with the last volumes of Thuanus and Burnet.—Holles's Memoirs, as it appears, were put out by Toland.—Reresby's have been curtailed (so were those of Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, in the first editions, respecting the Revolution) by his editorial friends.—Fairfax's Memoirs, whether drawn up by himself or not, as an apology to his friends, were not published in his lifetime. They say but little; shew him to have been a weak man; and are not brought down so low as a reader would wish them.—Clarendon's printed History, indeed,

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agrees

that Joyce (who was his instrument on that occasion) had seized the King at Holmby, and brought him to the army; " Now, says he, I  
 " have

agrees with his Manuscript, even in the controverted part of Hampden's character, which the writer of this note had an opportunity of observing. It is asserted, that two, and perhaps, unimportant alterations are made in the printed copy, in the last published part of the History of his life.—Sully's Memoirs were not drawn up by himself, but were made out from his papers, yet the truth of them was never contradicted by his family.—Anson did not tell his own story. Hawkesworth compiled three expensive Quartos, from the journals of the great navigators; who complain, that his pen was unfit for such subjects.—Carver, as it appears by a late advertisement, did not write his own Travels in North America: nor did Bougainville, it is said, compose the Narrative of his own Voyage.—Notwithstanding the certificates in favour of Marshal Berwick's Memoirs, there are persons hardy enough to doubt whether they were written by his own hand, however they might have been composed under his eye. But to return to Ludlow, the sole intended subject of this Note.—None of the facts in his Memoirs, perhaps, are to be called in question. The characters of his associates, who suffered after the Restoration, are highly exaggerated. Party seldom sees anything wrong in a friend, or right in an enemy. He lived and died in great steadiness of affection to the *good old Cause*; for which he endured an exile of thirty-two years. Probably he was the last of the sufferers; for Major Wildman, of whom a word must be said, who outlived the reigns of the Stuarts, and came over with the Prince of Orange, and was made Post-Master-General at the Revolution (see him often mentioned by Clarendon and Burnet), was but a Republican of an inferior sort. Like Shaftesbury's Ferguson, he was determined

" have the Parliament in my pocket." He used to boast, he had been the death of nineteen thousand

mined to be in a plot as long as he lived. For he seems, according to Dalrymple, to have betrayed his trust, and to have co-operated with the Jacobites and discontented Whigs. But he had not been considerable enough to be appointed one of the Judges of Charles the First, as Ludlow was; though he was as thorough-paced a Republican, and as inexorable a foe to Monarchy.—Ludlow made himself so much feared, on account of his enterprising spirit, that a price was set upon his head. The Duchess of Orléans employed persons to assassinate him. Those miscreants had succeeded in taking away the life of his friend Lisle. After the Revolution was completed, Ludlow left his retreat, and trusted himself in his own country. His appearance was so public, that it began to be taken notice of. He offered his service to King William (for after passing the Bill of Rights, which he possibly considered as an indelible contract between King and People, he hoped to end his days, in happiness, at home), to assist in the reduction of Ireland, where he once had a high command, having succeeded Ireton as Lord-Deputy, and where he probably would have been employed. But Seymour, who began his political career by the impeachment of Clarendon, and who, as it was asserted (though not without contradiction), was in possession of Ludlow's estate in Wiltshire, complained in the House, that a *Regicide* was in England; which occasioned a proclamation to be ordered against him. That proscription, it was observed, was not published till Ludlow had got safe into Holland. He lived to the age of seventy-three, and died in 1693. Over his door, says Addison, is this inscription,

*Omne solum fortis patria, quia patris.*

thousand Scots. He pleased more than half the nation (who count it freedom, but to change the yoke) when he dissolved the Long Parliament. It passed for a master-stroke of policy, and daring; but in him it was an act of the blackest ingratitude. For it was the servant turning the master out of doors. When the Rump (so called from being the fag-end, or all that was left, of the Parliament that was garbled by Pride) came into play, and were permitted to take their seats again, after his death, they loaded his memory with execrations; and, if it had been moved in the House, they might have ordered his body to be taken out of his coffin, as was the case at the Restoration, and hanged on a gallows at Tyburn. The offer of the Crown to Cromwell, by Alderman Pack and Colonel Jephson in the House, reminds the Editor, and probably the Reader, of Mark Antony's conduct to Cæsar on a similar occasion. Cæsar gave out, from the Sybilline books, as Cromwell from his pretended Revela-

The Editor, though devoted to this limited Monarchy, erects this Note to the memory of Ludlow, that gallant Englishman, who equalled the Roman Cato in disinterestedness, intrepidity, steadiness of principle and conduct; and who waited, however impatiently, for the recovery of the rights of the people, for which he first drew his sword, and which were restored (though with no benefit to himself) in 1688.

tions,

tions, that the Parthians could only be conquered by a King, and therefore he was for flinging up the Dictatorship. Before he intended to leave Rome, he was supposed to be desirous of the Kingship, and permitted his friend Antony, the Pack and Jephson on the occasion, to place a crown upon his head, to observe the inclinations of the people. This made the old Republicans enter into a conspiracy against his life. Cromwell probably would have been destroyed, by the same stale and pretended passion for public liberty; and some Brutus, who was related to him, and on whom he had bestowed numerous obligations, would have raised his fanatical hand against him. Great was the temptation, and vast were the conflicts in Cromwell's mind, on his nearness to the Crown. The Committee had sufficiently convinced him of the propriety and necessity of his being King. And yet he suffered himself to be overcome by the coarse arguments and ill-mannerly objections of his two military relations. Clarendon tells us, that a prophecy \* was in every body's mouth (for the last

\* Add to prophecies—that, all the prodigies in Livy were seen every day. Take the catalogue from Parker's History of his own times.—Two Suns—ships sailing in the air—a bloody rainbow—it rained stones—a lamb with two heads—cathedral churches were set on fire by lightning—an ox that spoke—a hen turned into a cock—a mule brought forth—

last century swarmed with every species of civil, religious, and astrological imposture), that Cromwell was to be in sight of the Kingship, but should never arrive at it. But his resolutions were only postponed. On his returning to his palace, after giving his decisive negative to the petition of the Committee, such was the disorder of his spirits, that he fainted away in his coach \*.

five beautiful young men stood by the Regicides while they suffered—a very bright star shone round their quarters that were stuck upon the city gates—a ghost was seen at Oxford in a Bishop's robes—two vast hogs came into the cathedral church of Canterbury in prayer-time, which they said happened before, in 1641, before the downfal of the hierarchy—a fanatic Domine of straw, that was made to be burned in effigy, not so much as touched by the flames—many Priests reading the common-prayer were seized with sudden death—a certain person rejoicing at the execution of Harrison the Regicide, was struck with a sudden palsey—another inveighing against Peters, as he went to the gibbet, was torn, and almost killed, by his own tame favourite dog—a certain woman at Chichester brought forth a child at her mouth—with an infinite number of such prodigious lies. For I feign nothing, says the Bishop.—To use a phrase of Lord Bacon, “these “ are better times to read of than to live in.”

\* Swift, in a short catalogue of the great and little actions of some singular persons, thus determines on two that belong to the subject of this long Note :

“ Cromwell, when he quelled a “ mutiny in Hyde Park,	made	A great figure.
“ Cromwell, the day he refused “ the Kingship out of fear,		A mean figure.”

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It was the concurrent opinion of the last century, that he was determined, at all events, to assume the title, if he had lived another winter. History says, he would not have hesitated to have destroyed Lambert; and why not Desborough and Fleetwood, if they continued their opposition, and stood in the way of his ambition? He certainly would have removed all obstructions, without the least ceremony. After he had discharged that which he called his *dumb Parliament*, because they did not furnish him with supplies, he was persuaded by one Gage, a renegado Priest, to seize the Spanish treasures in the West Indies (without a declaration of war); which it was hoped would put money into his coffers, and enable him, like the Roman Didius, to purchase the imperial title.—His reply to Bellievre, the French Ambassador, who expressed his wonder where his fortune might carry him, was lively, and in these words: *A man never mounts so high, as when he does not know whither he is going.*—If the Restoration and the Revolution had not been intended for us, what Englishman would need to have been sorry or ashamed to have seen the family of the Cromwells wearing the crown? It is a great doubt with some writers, foreign and domestic, whether Cromwell deserved a crown or a halter the most. If abilities, conquest, and a superiority over others, can establish a right, Cromwell

well might have put in his claim. All kings were originally usurpers upon the equality and natural rights of mankind, and came in against the inclination of those that were to be governed.—Cromwell's enthusiasm, according to Tillotson, who married his niece, got the better of his hypocrisy. He had no thoughts of giving up his power, like Sylla, his predecessor in usurpation.—He inflamed the quarrel, for superiority, between his own party, the Independents, and the Presbyterians. Am not I as fit to govern the nation as Holles? says Cromwell; and drove him and his friends out of the House, and out of the kingdom.—A notion prevails, according to Burnet, that he was about to shew a regard for the Church of England, and that he had no antipathy to the order of Bishops. He had begun a creation of Lords, and had composed an Upper House. He called (as Cowley expresseth it, with elegance and force,) Parliaments together by the stroke of his pen, and scattered them by the breath of his mouth. It is not improbable, says Saville, Marquis of Halifax, that Charles, in his exile, would have disposed of his right to him for a round sum of money. It was believed at the time, that the King would have married one of his daughters.—Cromwell's behaviour, as a son, a husband, a father, and in every do-

meistic relation, as allowed even by Hume, was unexceptionable, and evn exemplary. Yet the Scandalous Chronicle reports his connexion with the wives of Lambert and Vernon; and pretends, their contrarieties of humour had an effect upon his government.—No doubt, anxiety of mind, and perhaps a conscience stained with so much blood, together with the death of his favourite daughter Cleypole, might oppress his soul with melancholy, and, joined to the armour he constantly wore, which threw him into violent sweats, shortened his days. He was at last, says tradition, apprehensive of being assassinated. His aspect became cloudy, and when a stranger appeared at his court, he fixed his eyes upon him with all the eagerness of suspicion. The Pamphlet called “Killing no Murder,” if it reached his ears, must have increased his horrors. He used to defend his person with a coat of mail, and carry loaded pistols in his pockets. His coach was always filled with armed domestics, and he travelled with hurry and precipitation. After Syndercomb’s plot, of which he was never able to get to the bottom of the bottom (to use a certain oratorial expression), he never slept three nights successively in the same chamber, nor went nor returned by the same road, nor up and down the same stair-case. However, on his death-bed, if it is true that he was in his senses, he shewed no

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terrors

terrors nor compunctions ; but, in his prayers, talked the language of an intercessor for others. He expired on the third of September, hitherto a fortunate day to him, 1658, in the 59th year of his age. His departure was followed by the greatest storm of wind, by land and sea, that had been ever remembered. 'Tis impossible not to introduce the well-known lines of Waller, on the event.

Nature herself took notice of his death,  
And, sighing, swell'd the seas with such a breath,  
That, to remotest shores her billows roll'd,  
Th' approaching fate of their great Ruler told.

His funeral was as sumptuous as possible, amongst our Kings in Westminster Abbey ; and, according to Voltaire, conducted after the model (though a popish one) of the second Philip of Spain : but the expences were never defrayed. But, whether his body (which, it is understood, he feared would be dishonoured, if his enemies came to govern) was thrown, by his private order, into the sea, or was buried in the spot in Naseby Field (for he turned the fortune of that day) where he got his greatest glory ; or was the same that was torn out of his coffin afterward, cannot now be ascertained.—He displayed more magnificence in his latter years than he assumed at first. His Ambassadors had the greatest respect

spect paid them. No Court ventured to disoblige him. Charles the Second complained to the Dutch Ambassador, in seventy-two, that the States did not behave so well to him as they had done to the Usurper Cromwell. "Lord, Sir!" replied Boreel, Oliver was quite another man: he made the whole world afraid of him." "And I, said the King, a little disconcerted, will make myself feared in my turn." But History, which blabs every thing, observes, he was not so good as his word. Cromwell was well served in every department, and was a great judge and rewarder of merit. He found out men for places, and not places for men, according to modern practice. He had Milton and Marvel in his service. He had spies every where. But, as Lord Chatham emphatically expressed it, in the House, and in the hearing of the Editor, "Cromwell did not so much derive his intelligence from the cabinet of every Court of Europe, as from the cabinet of *bis own sagacious mind.*" — Reresby, a Royalist and Historian, observes, that this year, 1658, died the Protector Oliver Cromwell, one of the greatest and bravest of men, had his cause been good, the world ever saw. He could not prevail upon Meric Casaubon to write the History of the War; though he assured him, he desired nothing but truth from his pen. Manley (the same who began the entertaining

O 2 volumes

volumes of the Turkish Spy), an agreeable Writer, contemporary and Royalist, admits, " that he was not altogether unworthy of the degree of power he obtained, if he had not acquired it by ill means;"—and, in another place observes, " that many eminent men have acquired dominion over their fellows by fortitude and virtue, and some by flagitious and detestable crimes: only a few by cheating: but, perhaps, scarce any other, besides Cromwell, ever invaded and obtained the supreme power, by tears, and sighs, and lies, and pretences to religion."

Vane, in a speech in Richard's Parliament of 1659, has these expressions: " One could bear a little with Oliver Cromwell—though he usurped the Government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgments, our passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions. He had under his command, an army that had made him a Conqueror, and a people that had made him their General. But as for Richard his son"—Sydney (the favourite of the liberty-mongers, and great champion against Monarchy) called Cromwell, as he said on his trial, " a Tyrant every day of his life," and acted against him too.

" Who,

" Who, says Dr. South, that had beheld such  
 " a bankrupt, beggarly fellow as Cromwell, first  
 " entering the Parliament-House, with a thread-  
 " bare torn coat, and a greasy hat (and perhaps  
 " neither of them paid for), could have suspect-  
 " ed, that in the space of so few years, he should,  
 " by the murder of one King, and the banish-  
 " ment of another, ascend the throne, be in-  
 " vested in the royal robes, and wanting nothing  
 " of the state of a King, but the changing of his  
 " hat into a crown?"

Bethell contends, that in his foreign conduct he shewed little regard for the interest of his country, or great ignorance in commercial matters. Of his alliance with France he grew ashamed; and, according to Sir William Temple, had dispatched a Gentleman, who had reached the Pyrenean Mountains, to make a treaty with Spain. It is insisted upon, that the weight which his junction with France threw into the scale of that Monarchy, laid the foundation of that strength which made Lewis the Fourteenth a match for all Europe. Though, I think, says a great living political Essayist, that the French power must have finally prevailed. It is confessed, and appears from Thurlo's Letter to Clarendon, that his treaty with France was founded on personal considerations.

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It is time to have done with quotations, and with bringing so many writers for and against his character.

As many persons have written the life, or mentioned the actions, of Cromwell, as Bayle pretends of Henry the Fourth. Perhaps the most entertaining and perspicuous account of him is composed by the Editor's intelligent acquaintance, the late Dr. Campbell, in the Biographia, which might have furnished his memory (together with Harris's Life) for this historical rhapsody.

**CONFERENCE VI.**

**WILLIAM LENTHAL, Esq. late SPEAKER,  
of the LONG PARLIAMENT,**

AND

**SIR EDWARD HYDE, just created EARL OF  
CLARENDON.**

[Held at Cornbury, in 1661.]

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**LENTHAL.**

**A**LL those people who prostrated themselves at your levee, and behaved with so much flattery and submission, bowed the knee in the same manner, for many years, to the Speaker of the Long Parliament. They have done worshipping me, and now the times are changed, they idolise the rising Sun.

**HYDE.**

You have had homage paid you long enough. Since your sun is permitted to go down

down quietly, and does not set in blood, you ought to be satisfied. When mine gets past the meridian, I shall not expect to be followed much longer. I am not to be deceived nor delighted with the incense that is offered me on this occasion. The attachment is more frequently to the station than to the man, as you now experience. The scene that lately opened, displays more tokens of zeal than perhaps of sincerity, and allowance is to be made accordingly. The Restoration accepts of new converts as well as of old friends, and promises an oblivion of its enemies. Roundheads, as well as Cavaliers, are permitted to partake of the present festivity.

## L E N T H A L.

I was not the last who came into the invitation of the royal family. It is known to several about the King, that the Restoration could not have taken place without my assistance. When the throne became vacant in forty-eight, I would have filled it with the heir of the kingdom, if my wishes or endeavours could have accomplished it. But it was not the Lord's time till now,

H Y D E.

I believe you sat in the Speaker's chair,  
with no ill-will to Monarchy, nor to Episcopacy.

L E N T H A L.

Nor to the late King.

H Y D E.

And yet, you did not take any methods to prevent the desperate votes against him. Did you not propose the bloody question for trying him, without being held down in the chair, as a predecessor of yours was on a less important occasion?

L E N T H A L.

For this no excuse can be made. But I have the King's pardon. Yet I hoped the very putting the question would have cleared him; because I believed four to one were against it. I had not sagacity enough to think it possible the Independents would have proceeded to the last violence. Perhaps I had not strength of mind to do what some others

in my place might have attempted. I was ca-  
joled and outwitted by Cromwell, Ireton, and  
some more of that faction. I went from the  
Parliament to the army, because I knew the  
Presbyterians would never restore the King  
to his just rights; and I was induced to be-  
lieve the Independents, on their oaths, that  
they would. But it is no wonder I was over-  
reached by them, when they deceived our  
excellent King, and were too cunning and  
daring for the House and the whole nation.  
I was but a cypher amongst such glaring  
figures. I was considered as much a bauble  
as my mace, which Cromwell afterwards  
jeested upon, when he broke in upon rule and  
order, and expelled us.

L A N T H A L

H Y D E .

I find Your timidity did as much harm to the Royal cause, as could have been effected by your malice: most befoiled I slipp'd ; mid  
length I lay upon hard I liege  
Thos who elected me, knew how to make  
me their instrument. I trembled in the chair,  
like

like Felix on another occasion, when the King came to demand the five Members; but it was concealed under the prudence of my reply, that I had no eyes to see, nor tongue to speak with, but what the House was pleased to give me. My constant behaviour was that of an obedient servant of the House, of which yourself, whilst you continued amongst us, was a witness down to the present convention. I became the less willing to quit and fling off my robes, when I thought a successor might easily be found, who could do more mischief.

## H Y D E.

But you were reconciled at last to your situation, and became very easy. You could bend like a willow to every power that became uppermost. You accommodated yourself to the Rump and the Usurper, and, but for the tide running in favour of Monarchy, you would have been content to have died in the Chair. You were ready to accept any title or mark of honour from their hands. I mean not, at this season,

to reproach you, but only to observe upon you.

## LENTHAL.

I am sure you are of too noble a disposition to condemn with severity the vanity and weakness of a doating old man. I wept, and covered myself with sackcloth and ashes in private, when the sentence against the King was executed. If I seemed to acquiesce under my new task-masters, it was in common with the submission of wiser and better men than myself; and yet, I went not so far, as to comply with the abjuration oath \*, to the Committee of Safety, though Lord Northumberland †, who finds so much favour,

scrupled

\* Eachard relates, that Lenthal was assured by Mrs. Katharine Johnson, the noted prophetess or fortune-teller of this time, that he should certainly be forgiven for whatever else he had done against the King.

† See the manuscripts of Roberts, the first Earl of Radnor, in the Musæum. Clarendon pronounces, that Northumberland ought to have been punished, instead of forgiven, at the Restoration. Possibly he took out his pardon, as did Whitlock, and many others. The oath he complied with, of being true to the Commons, without a King, or a House of Lords,

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scrupled not to take it in the court of Chancery. Monarchy appeared to be buried with the King, and I imagine you were taught to believe so on the other side of the water. Whether the remains of the Long Parliament, or General Monk, the Sword, or a Republic, was to govern, the Law, the Constitution, and the King, seemed to be out of every body's view and expectations. As soon as a chancee presented itself, of shaking off the yoke of democracy, I contributed every thing in my power to bring over the King.

H Y D E.

It could not have been in your power to have kept him out. The spirit of the nation was so strong for monarchy, that no single hand could hold it down. The King discovered such joy, lighted up in the countenances of his subjects, all the way from

Lords, must have been humiliating to Algernon Percy, the proudest Peer of the realm, who, as was said of him, abstained from going to court, because there was a greater person than himself there.

Dover,

Dover, that he said, he was sure it must have been his own fault that he was kept out of his dominions so long.

## L E N T H A L.

Every difficulty was removed by the well-penned declaration from Breda \*, which breathes so much moderation and comfort to all men who have been mistaken or misled. Neither Parliament nor people, after that was sent over, wished to impose any shackles, or make terms with him.

## H Y D E.

There is no necessity for doing it. For the King is of so true a judgment, has so good a temper, besides being pretty well past the giddy age of pleasure, and has such a proper memory of the hardships he has undergone at home and abroad, that a treaty with him would have spoiled all. I have no doubt this Parliament will be a healing one, and make the errors and enormities of that of forty-one,

\* This declaration was drawn up by Hyde, and Lenthal knew that very well.

which

which elected you to the chair, be forgot, or only remembered as the rock which helped to shipwreck the constitution of Church and State.

## L E N T H A L.

You are likely to enjoy the blessings of the new reign, and are qualified to influence by your counsels your Sovereign, to make his people in love with monarchy, and to advise how to steer between privilege and prerogative.

## H Y D E.

If one ever comes in competition with the other, the prerogative, in my judgment, must be made to give way to privilege. For it was almost the dying advice of a very wise father, not to let, as the profession of the law generally inclines men to do, prerogative run riot, and trample upon the liberty of the subject. It will be the people's own fault if they are not completely happy. The King will grant a pardon to all but those whom the Parliament excepts, which will be only

those

those who had a hand in his father's death. I believe he will not have a foe in the whole kingdom, but the obstinate adherents to the Old Cause, and the Solemn League and Covenant.

## L E N T H A L.

I have to thank you for hearing me so patiently, and permitting me to remove any ungracious misconceptions of me. I am too ancient and infirm, to be capable of doing any more service, or further harm. I am forbid even to hope to see the halcyon days you prophesy. I wish your master may have sufficient confidence in you; and that you may obtain, not the camelion kind of respect which comes and goes, and is the lot of all Lord Chancellors for the time being, but the reverence and the prayers of all good Englishmen.

## N O T E.

In the last volume of that useful compilation, the Parliamentary History, is the apology of old

Lenthal for his political behaviour, which may be considered as *his last dying words*, and with which this dialogue remarkably well agrees. The Editor has not this historical collection before him, to observe how it corresponds with the account he has read, since the first edition of this little Work, in Kennet's admirable Register and Chronicle, which, it may be pronounced, from the fashion of the compilation, would have been the completest history of England, or materials for one, that has appeared, if it had been taken up at the Conquest, and could have been brought down to the Revolution.—Lenthal died with remorse, and with repentance, on account of the part he acted. His descendant, still living at Burford, relates the traditional story of this visit of his great ancestor to Lord Clarendon at Cornbury, and of what passed between them. The cynical Wood, the candid Eachard, the diligent Kennet, are fresh informers to the Editor: so that there is not the least doubt, that what is recited is substantially true. This is inserted to prevent the scepticism of the reader. Lenthal endeavoured to be elected a member of the Convention, for the University of Oxford; but, though recommended by Monk, he was kept out. Upon this, he retired, with the vast wealth he had acquired in that desperate mart of rebellion, as Clarendon expresses it of some other person, to his seat at Burford, where he died on

the 3d of September 1662, forgiven and forgot by the Court. He held the Mastership of the Rolls whilst he was Speaker of the House of Commons, and at the Restoration offered three thousand pounds to be continued. The King let him know, it was already promised (to Lord Culpeper).

The virtuous, but austere, Lord Clarendon was basely given up, or rather got rid off, by the King. He had offended him, beyond forgiveness, in getting a beautiful woman, Mrs. Steward, married to the Duke of Richmond, to render it impossible for the King to make her his wife. This is to be found in Burnet, the Procopius of this King's reign. Charles began to revolt from Protestant connexions, and to cease being in the interest of his country; for he was beginning to be a pensioner to Lewis the Fourteenth. Clarendon's integrity prompted him to stand a public trial. It is probable, his innocence would not have preserved him: for the popular dislike, however unmerited; the disgrace at Chatham, that demanded a victim; the malice of the King, and of Lady Castlemain; and the violence of some of the new ministers, and the death or defection of the old, would have imprisoned him in the Tower, and perhaps have put his life in danger. "A corrupted Court, says Mr. Walpole, and a blinded populace, were less

less the causes of the Chancellor's fall, than an ungrateful King, who could not pardon his Lordship's having refused to accept for him the slavery of his country." — His History, which is properly Memoirs, contains, as Burnet expresses it, the best apologies for those bad measures they are capable of. He is partial, without designing to violate the truth. Strange ! that he cannot find one person to speak highly of, who is in opposition to the Court ; and that he can hardly acknowledge the valour or talents of the conquerors in the civil wars ! Eachard, who makes great use of him, says, he was obliged to read him over and over, on purpose to understand him ; for there is a disorder of time, place, and circumstances, that runs through his whole History. He shews great knowledge of human nature, and took great pains to know the characters and tempers of his contemporaries, at least of his own party, and to bend them to his purpose. Every thing is alive in his History, and there is no laying it down, when once it is taken up \*. But his periods are the periods of a mile. They partake of the pomp

\* It was a whimsical custom of an Italian potentate, whose name escapes the memory, to punish any of his courtiers, who had offended him, by obliging them to get by heart a period or two of Guicciardini's History (a most interesting and impartial work), some of which are of the unconscionable length of half a page.

and stateliness of his own deportment; but they are more pleasing, and have more importance, than the short sentences of one line only, according to the practice of a neighbouring nation, which some of our present writers have unhappily imported.— Reader, you will not be displeased, if I select some acute remarks from the Catalogue of Royal and Illustrious Authors, of which a new edition is much wanted.—“ Yet he (Clarendon) has both great and little faults. Of the latter, his stories of ghosts and omens are not to be defeated, by supposing, he did not believe them himself; there can be no other reason for inserting them, nor is there any other medium between believing them and laughing at them. —No man ever delivered so much truth, with so little sincerity. If he relates faults, some palliating epithet always slides in; and he has the art of breaking his darkest shades with gleams of light that take off all impressions of horror.—One may pronounce of Lord Clarendon, in his double capacity of statesman and historian, that he acted for liberty, but wrote for prerogative.”—The anecdote of the advice to Lord Clarendon, by his father, a gentleman of Wiltshire, “ not to strain the prerogative against the liberty of the subject, if he came to be at the head of his profession,” is probably alluded to in the account of his own life: but it is given at full length, in the first volume of Bishop Burnet’s masterly History of his own Times.

## CONFERENCE VII.

LORD DANBY, LORD DEVONSHIRE, LORD DELAMERE.

[At Whittington, in Derbyshire, just before the Revolution in 1688.]

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## DELAMERE.

**I**F one of the spies of the Court could trace us to this privacy, a messenger would be dispatched into Scarsdale, to fetch us up, and carry us before the Council. I have had a narrow escape for my life very lately; but I am willing to venture it once more, against popery and arbitrary power. I am of opinion, that when the nation is delivered, it must be by force or miracle. It would be great presumption to expect the latter; and therefore our deliverance must be by force, and I hope this is the right time for it. I have signified my opinion and inclinations. Which of your Lordships will second me?

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## DEVONSHIRE.

First, let me beg your pardon, Lord Danby, for the violent opposition I gave to your administration in the last reign. I trusted there were better grounds for the impeachment that was moved for against you by Winnington, than were made out afterward. I was induced to believe you were a tool to France, and an enemy to your country. I had no other dislike to you, but such as Brutus exhibited against Cæsar. After having given my hearty vote for the bill of Exclusion, introduced by my dear friend Lord Russel, (pardon me, my Lords, if the bare mention of his name brings tears into my eyes at this distance of time!) you will not wonder, if, in my enthusiasm for a good cause, and as a representative of the people, I endeavoured to bring to public justice the minister of that time, whom I really thought as highly criminal as his Master, who was too great to be punished.

D A N B Y.

D A N B Y.

Your Lordship's candid acknowledgment of your error, is sufficient to make us have confidence in each other, and to engage without reserve in the dangerous busines we are met upon. When I set up the statue of the King's father, at Charing-Cross, out of my regard to Monarchy, which was come to be in fashion again; and because I was an old Cavalier, I little thought, that, within twenty years, I should see the propriety of relaxing from my high principles, and assert the necessity of resistance to the present Government.

D E L A M E R E.

I think the curse of King James upon any of his posterity, who should turn Papist, must fall, like the vengeance from heaven, upon his grandson. What dependence can we have upon his word, when, during the debate on the Test Act, he declared, that his religion should be a private matter between God and himself, and that it should not interfere with his public character? To perpetuate our evils, a son, whether a legitimate one or a pretender,

tender, must be a matter of more enquiry, is introduced to the succession, to undo all the blessings of the Reformation. A Nunton has had a public audience at Windsor, and Castlemain is gone Ambassador to the Pope. We must stand up for our religion and our liberty. When they are gone, there is nothing worth enjoying, or contending for. We all heard, a few sessions ago, that eminent patriot Lord Shaftesbury pronounce, that popery and slavery will fain go hand in hand together; but that, whichever goes first, the other is sure to follow.

## DEVONSHIRE.

With shame, I acknowledge I have not lived under such a visible influence of religion and morality, as either of your Lordships. But I hope I shall mend. Pleasure has too often run away with me; but I have ever been a man of honour, and have loved my country. I overlook the affront I received from the King (whose father and brother were relieved in their distress by my family, for which they met with an ill return), and the exorbitant fine set upon me, for striking Culpeper

peper with my cane\*. A Cavendish can at this time enter into opposition, only upon public ground. I am not so blindly devoted to Monarchy as an Osborne, nor have I been in arms against the Roundheads, as a Booth. I inherit the noble principle, which led Lord Russel to the scaffold,—That protection and obedience are reciprocal duties, and that the notion of a limited monarchy carries with it a justification of resistance. With as much seriousness and fortitude as your Lordships, I am ready to act my part. My Lord Danby, you are a man of wide experience. What methods do you advise to be taken, to deliver your country from bondage?

## D A N B Y.

Argyle's invasion, and Monmouth's defeat, and the merciless executions that followed,

\* He was fined thirty thousand pounds, by the Court of King's Bench; for the payment of which, his mother, the Countess of Devonshire, offered up the securities for a debt of sixty thousand the Cavendish family had advanced for the Crown, which were rejected. King William forgave the fine, and cancelled the bonds at the Revolution. Part of his epitaph, which is in Latin, asserts, that he was a dutiful subject to good Kings, but hating and hated by Tyrants.

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have struck such a terror every where, that the people are hardly recovered. But the pressingness of the danger to our liberties, and the probability of the King's accepting an army and a navy from France, that may make an entire conquest of us, render it necessary we should not lose a moment's time. My intelligence runs, that this offer can only be opposed in the Cabinet by Lord Sunderland, who is daily losing ground, and may be shut up in the Tower. An invitation under our hands and seals, to the Prince of Orange, to come over to our deliverance, is absolutely and immediately to be resolved upon.

## D E L A M E R E.

I am not certain that the Prince has acted an honourable part by Monmouth. But we have nobody else to look up to for assistance. It is long since I thought myself absolved from paying allegiance to King James. I owe him none, and I will never pay him any. I am resolved to fight against him, and will die single with my sword in my hand, rather than pay him any obedience. My hand and

heart shall go to your proposed invitation of the Prince. When his answer arrives, and we are satisfied with the heads of his declaration, I will call out my tenants and dependents, and, at a moment's warning, raise Cheshire against the King.

## DEVONSHIRE.

None but such a hero as the Prince of Orange is fit to oppose to the King's army. His ancestor rescued his country from oppression and the Spanish Inquisition, and the life of his descendant has been a continual warfare against the power of France, who aims at universal Monarchy.

## DE L A M E R E.

In a Protestant cause, I have no doubt but the King's army will desert him, and come over to us.

## D A N B Y.

The Prince of Orange, my Lords, is a great politician, and a man of vast ambition and extraordinary perseverance. The late and the present King always suspected his

design of placing himself upon the throne, even in their lifetime. I have no doubt he will readily comply with an invitation from the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, and bring with him a sufficient force to retrieve us from our present situation. But what are we to expect from him afterward? Is he to return to his Stadholdership, or to continue here, and to preside over us in the name of Regent or King?

## DEVONSHIRE.

I am not for looking so far forward. At all events, I am for calling him over, and for sending him as many names as our interest and the goodness of our cause can procure.

## DE LAMERE.

If we draw the sword, we must fling away the scabbard. I am not for a Commonwealth, The tyranny of that we have lately felt. And we have been made sick enough of Monarchy, since the Restoration. I can tell you what I would not have. The present King is not to be trusted any longer, and I would not have him rule over us. Let the wisdom of  
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the nation in a convention determine what is to be done with him. It must be put out of his power to hurt us. I remember an expression of Sir William Temple, that has taught me a great deal. It is this, that though a King of England may not have it in his power to do much for the good of his country, he always is able to do a great deal towards its ruin. The present state of things is a confirmation of the observation.

## D A N B Y.

Nothing that my experience can suggest shall be wanting on this national occasion. The court of the Prince of Orange has been much visited of late. Several Englishmen, under the pretence of travelling, have been offering their service. The eyes of all Europe are upon the Prince. Many on this and on the other side of the water are in expectation of something extraordinary to happen. But whence it is to originate, is yet in the womb of time. Our enemies at Whitehall cannot penetrate our present scheme, nor will be induced to believe the warlike preparations in Holland, and in other places,

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can possibly be employed here. The King depends upon his standing army; upon the late determination of the Judges, in Westminster-hall, that he is above the laws; upon the passively obedient principles of the Church of England, and the courage of Father Petre. In case of a revolution in our favour, whom you would place on the throne, or keep from it, must be a discussion before a free Parliament; for the appeal, in my judgment, must not be made to the people at large. My hand shall be to the Invitation, for which my head must be as liable to be forfeited as certainly as either of your Lordships'. It shall be my part to make Yorkshire declare for the Prince. It is my wish, that he may land on our coast, where he will find many friends, and where my interest lies. This weighty business will require our frequent communications under this roof, where posterity ought to be informed, the plan was first laid, for recovering the religion, laws, and liberties of the people of England, in the year 1688, at that period in the most imminent danger.

## NOTE.

## N O T E.

To this meeting and conversation Lord Danby must allude in his Memoirs. These three distinguished personages met at a little village, called Whittington, in Derbyshire. The room they sat in, still goes by the name of *The Plotting Parlour*. The Editor sees, or thinks he sees, the long-headed politician, in Lord Danby; the determined Whig, in Lord Delamere; and the disinterested Patriot, in Lord Devonshire; a character that continues to shine in his descendants. To these three Noblemen, noble in every sense of the word, this nation is principally indebted for the Revolution.

## CONFERENCE VIII.

THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY AND  
LORD SOMERS.

[The first week in January 1705-6.]

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## SOMERS.

I hope the warm climate of Italy has completely restored your Grace's health, and that you will not be obliged to revisit it on that account. If you cannot return to the violent exercise of the fox-chace, which had so nearly deprived us of your precious life, yet it is matter of infinite consolation, that every dangerous symptom is removed, and that your constitution appears to be as good as ever. Of your absence for so many years, your impatient country thinks she has too much reason to complain. Your best friends entertained suspicions, you were too indifferent

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rent about what was to become of them, at this interesting juncture. We have wanted your presence, to partake of the felicity of the nation ; which is put into good-humour by the splendour of our important victories against France. We begin to gather the fruits of the Grand Alliance, that was formed by our immortal Deliverer ; to whom England and all Europe are so much indebted.

## S H R E W S B U R Y.

I cannot assert that my long absence from home has given me the *maladie de païs* ; for, I believe, if the condition of my health had not demanded it, I should have been happy to have retired into a voluntary banishment, to avoid the violence of parties in England, and to throw off the weight of public business. But I have not ceased being a good Englishman, though I have continued so long abroad. I remain the determined Protestant Dr. Tillotson made me before the Revolution ; and I was considered as such in the city of Rome itself. I have not suffered the smallest alteration in my political principles. My late matrimonial connexion (an affair in which

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wisdom has seldom much to do) is merely a personal consideration, and need not confound so many of my old friends; for it has no influence on my public conduct.

## S O M E R S.

Surprise is but a short-lived passion, and will soon be over. There is no wonder the Duke of Shrewsbury yielded himself to the captivity of Love, when the greatest heroes who have contended with him have been generally overcome. If the Court is worthy of the Duchefs, I have no doubt the Duchefs will make herself worthy of the Court. The smiles of that circle will soon correct the frowns every where else.—Lady Marlborough, who is as great a favourite of the Queen, as when she was only Princeess of Denmark, is using all her interest to remove the Tories and the High-Churchmen, and to make the Ministry consist only of Whigs, and those who were hearty in the glorious Revolution. You must prepare yourself for an invitation to a seat amongst them, and once more employ those uncommon talents for business you are known to possess,

and display the admirable temper you proved yourself so great a master of in the last reign.

## S H R E W S B U R Y.

Your Lordship may remember the treatment I met with, from the time of my accepting a share in the management of affairs, to the moment of my flinging up the Seals the second time. The continual suspicions of my want of attachment to the new Government, the frequent expostulations of King William, the real or pretended discoveries of Fenwick, the jealousies of the Whigs, the rotation of Ministers, and the fluctuation of Councils; added to the dissatisfaction of the nation, from the King's cynical behaviour, and his slender adherence to the promises and expectations given in his Declaration, made me unwilling to serve any longer; and threw me into some dangerous fits of sickness, that rendered a relaxation of mind, and a more genial atmosphere (especially after the accident of being thrown from my horse), necessary for the preservation of my life. When I got out of England, and was released from the fatigue of business, I perceived I grew better, and

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found it worth while to pay a constant and serious attention to myself. My correspondence with particular persons demonstrated I had not forgot them ; and that I was not forgotten in my turn, however I might be forgiven for my desertion. Your Lordship, whose memory of things is so extensive, may recollect, that, oppressed as I was with shortness of breath and spitting of blood, I would have ventured every thing, and have recrossed the channel, for the sole purpose of assisting you with my vote and influence, against your vexatious and frivolous impeachment. You were too generous to require such a sacrifice from me.

## S O M E R S.

I so entirely excused and overlooked the behaviour of King William towards me, that I stood up in my place and defended his memory against some injurious expressions of Lord Nottingham and Lord Jersey. I wish your Grace would condescend to do the like, and not think of his unwarranted doubts of your fidelity. Then, you must consider him,

as I do, the greatest Statesman of the age, the most heroic character, and the man raised up to rescue us from popery and slavery, and the whole Continent from the despotism of the House of Bourbon. He had taken a resolution, no longer to balance between the two parties, but to discard the Tories, and employ the Whigs, who know best how to carry on the war, upon which our all depends.—I trust you will excuse this flight of words, and permit me to return to the subject we were upon, and to thank you personally for the offer of your unprecedented kindness, to do what was in your power, to protect me from the malice of my enemies. But, to be plain with you, I thought you betrayed too much indignation and discontent, towards the conclusion of the letter you honoured me with on that occasion. You seem to have a little departed from your usual good-nature, when you employ this harsh expression, “ Had I a son, “ I would rather breed him a Cobler than a “ Courtier, and a Hangman than a States-“ man.”

## SHREWSBURY.

I have no doubt of your exactness in the words; and I affirm to you, that I find no reason to change my opinion, or soften my expression. The examples of Lord Somers and the Duke of Shrewsbury are in point, and sufficient to prevent any retraction. Indeed, I had assumed my position before I replied to you from Rome. Can any thing be more mortifying to a great spirit, than to find, that, after a life devoted to the public service; after passing through the slow and painful honours of the Long-Robe; after having contributed every thing, by your advice and your eloquence, to moderate the fury of parties, and to preserve your Sovereign on his throne; and after having been elevated by him to the head of your profession, you are to be given up to his instant convenience; to be disgraced, to be accused like a criminal, and to have your title and your life put into danger, to gratify a rising favourite, or the clamour of a troublesome faction?

S O M E R S.

## S O M E R S.

I acknowledge this to be a hard fortune, and not a rare one. Aristides, Cicero, Clarendon, Barneveldt, Dewit, and others, have experienced the ingratitude of their masters, and the rage and envy of their contemporaries. We must look up to impartial posterity for applause\*. Present approbation must originate in our own breasts. If we have the ambition to step before others, in order to do good to our fellow-citizens, we must pursue it at every risk. From the moment I became a public man, and was considerable enough to be admitted into the confidence of Shaftesbury, Russel, Cavel-  
dish, Sydney, Hampden, Jones, Maynard, Trenchard, and other eminent Patriots, I was

\* The patriotic Statesman is sure of the praises of future times. He resembles the artist of Cnidos, who inscribed upon the Pharos the name of the reigning Prince, but took care to place his own on the inside, which he covered with mortar; certain that time would do him justice, and that when the present inscription should drop off, his fame would be visible and permanent as the building itself.—This allusion is from Lucian, which the English reader may find in Dr. Franklin's late excellent Translation of that entertain-ing Author.

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determined to go on and devote all my time and my faculties, nay my life also, to the advantage of my country. I employed my pen in defence of the Whigs, through the reigns of the two brothers, till the cause of the Bishops enabled me to distinguish myself as a Lawyer in Westminster-Hall. I spoke, whilst Solicitor-General, in the House of Commons, in defence of the legality of the Convention, with an authority and conviction that carried all before it. I pushed forward; and, by the recommendation of Lord Sunderland, obtained the Great Seal, and presided in the Court of Chancery, and as Speaker in the Lords, with an unfulfilled reputation, for seven years; and, but for the versatility of the King's politics, I might have kept my ground much longer \*.

## S H R E W S B U R Y.

Do you think he adhered to his true judgment, to his natural firmness and his integrity, when he contributed to the fall of an

\* My Lord Somers was nearest to his character (Lord Clarendon), but his time was short; and envy and faction fulfilled the lustre of his glory.      Lord MANSFIELD.

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useful and innocent servant, and left him the possible victim of the resentment of a set of men he had provoked on his account? to be charged with procuring immoderate grants, to the impoverishing of the Crown, and with being an infamous sharer with Kid the pirate?

## S O M E R S.

To know how to give way to the madnes of the times, is the perfection of political experience. The King made apologies for the necessity of removing me, to render himself and his affairs more easy. As to the busines of Kid, in which you had your share of blame, the King generously pronounced at his table our innocence, from his own knowledge, which he said he would aver in a Court of Justice, if he were not precluded by the laws from being a witness.—It is possible to be too hard upon Princes. They sometimes deserve our compassion, instead of our anger, and require our aid and our protection. I felt a great deal for King William, when the Commons reduced the army to seven thousand men; which vote, by this distrust of him, put it out of his power to defend the nation

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in case of an invasion ; and I thought they were very uncivil, in not permitting him to keep his Dutch guards about his person, who had been the companions of his expedition. I transmitted to your Grace, in a letter, a copy of a Speech he had prepared, on a resolution he had taken to leave us ; from which no arguments of mine could divert him. Luckily, the intreaties of others prevailed at last.—Had he encouraged a Bill of Pains and Penalties against me, and marked me out for his own, or for popular vengeance, I should have talked the language of an injured man, and have condemned the King for his particular injustice. Your Grace is too general, as well as too severe, in your sentence on all Courts and all Princes. My Master knew, his Chancellor knew, and his enemies knew (for he created many, only by altering the names of several disaffected persons, in the Commissions of Peace) that his possession of the Seals was his greatest crime ; and that, when they were once taken from him, the enmity of his accusers would cease. This passed after your Grace abandoned England. I would not submit to a voluntary resignation

resignation of the Seals. I delivered them up, on the peremptory order of the King, and set my enemies at defiance. The Commons would have remitted their accusation, but I desired to be heard at their Bar ; and afterward answered their impeachment, to the satisfaction of all but my accusers. I did not, even then, repent of having dedicated myself to the public service. I knew I intended to deserve well of mankind \*, and that

\* A small extract from a Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William, in the Hardwick State-Papers, will give the Reader an idea of the value and abilities of Lord Somers. It is written in 1701, on an intended change of the Ministry.

" Let him (the King) come into England as soon as he can, and immediately send for Lord Somers. He is the life, the soul, and the spirit of his party, and can answer for it ; not like the present Ministers, who have no credit with their's, any farther than they can persuade the King to be undone. When his Majesty speaks to my Lord Somers, he ought to do it openly and freely ; and ask him plainly, what he and his friends can do and will do ; and what they expect, and the methods they would propose. By this the King will come to make a judgment of his affairs ; and he may be sure, that my Lord Somers will desire nothing for himself, or any of the impeached Lords, but will take as much care not to perplex the King's business, as can be desired ; and if he can do nothing his Majesty shall like, he will remain still zealous and affectionate to his person and government."

I had, all the while, the secret good-will of the King, and the approbation of the Whig-party ; of which I may say with truth, with whatever vanity, I was rising to be the chief. Though, according to the terms of my motto, I was more desirous of doing useful services, than of obtaining a splendid character.

## S H R E W S B U R Y.

I know the modesty of your disposition, and had occasion, officially, to observe, that it was with some difficulty you were prevailed upon to accept, what the vanity of most men solicits, a Peerage ; though you perceived it was evidently for the interest of the Crown, you should not put it by ; and that it was a just acknowledgement of your merit. My temper would not permit me to overlook the mortifications I met with, nor submit to the intrigues of the Cabinet. The King's trusting to my honour, when he distrusted my conduct, and forcing the Secretaryship upon me the second time, put me into a delicacy of situation that I had not experienced ; to which I must annex, the making me a Duke, and giving

giving me the Garter. Between his reproach and his kindness, I was almost overwhelmed. Having seen enough of the cabals of the Court, of which I was glad to take my leave, I could not be prevailed upon, by Lord Marlborough or Godolphin, to accept even the unresponsible place of Master of the Horse, on the accession of the Queen, at the price of my health and the tranquillity of my mind.

## S O M E R S .

The introduction of the new reign was not favourable to men of my principles, and I am still kept from the Council-Board. But the being out of employment has not spoiled my temper. I avail myself of the leisure I am still enjoying. The Royal Society, who have chosen me their President, has made Experimental Philosophy, and the study of Nature, my amusement. But I never absent myself from my seat in Parliament, nor omit the smallest opportunities of promoting any national good in my power. Whilst the prosperity and glory of my country are consulted, and such an important victory as that

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of Blenheim is obtained, I care not in whose hands the Administration is lodged. Your Grace retains the character given you by our late Master, of being the only great man who is agreeable to both Whigs and Tories. Therefore, every Ministry will bid very high for you. Lord Godolphin is about to declare in favour of the Whigs, and has procured the Great Seal for Mr. Cowper; a man very acceptable to the whole party. I would recommend it to your Grace, not to despair of the Public, nor refuse your assistance when properly called upon.

## S H R E W S B U R Y.

The Ministers, if I am rightly informed, are not sufficiently recovered from the surprise which my marriage with a foreign Lady has thrown them all into. Your Lordship, whose friendship and politeness are above scruples, has paid me the first and most agreeable visit I have received from any of your rank, since my arrival. Perhaps the example your Lordship has set, who is become a pattern in most cases to the world, may be generally followed, and form a Levee for the Duke and Duchess of

of Shrewsbury. When I am restored to the confidence of the great men, and have advances made towards me, I may consider of the answer it may be prudent to give ; and, I flatter myself, it will be such as the patriotic spirit of so good an Englishman may not disapprove.

## S O M E R S.

You may have the good fortune to have a higher value set upon your principles, your moderation, and your integrity, than in a former period. Princes may not be always unjust ; jealousies may not be always encouraged ; and persons of unequivocal characters may not hereafter be so much as suspected. The Queen, and her Consort Prince George (the last of whom entertains a dislike to me, and with the first I am not as yet in high favour), will, and ought to do all in their power to procure your good-will. Give me leave to prophesy, that you will live to think more highly of Statesmen, and more temperately of Courts, and to alter the destination of your son, if you should be blessed with one. When that event shall happen (and I

hope it is not far off), I shall be forward to advise you, to breed him up in the Whig principles; and I shall persuade you to endeavour to make him as like yourself as possible: and then he cannot fail of being, what an English Nobleman should be, a favourite both of King and People.

## NOTE.

If there were no other proofs of the intimacy of these Interlocutors, the Letter of the Duke of Shrewsbury to Lord Somers, alluded to in the Conference, and preserved in the second volume of the Hardwick State-Papers, would be sufficient. There is a warmth of expression, and an air of sincerity, in what falls from the pen of that Nobleman, that Statesmen seldom make use of to each other.—The Duke of Shrewsbury came over to England in the yacht with the Duke of Marlborough, and, as it appears from this Conference, received an immediate visit from Lord Somers. A circumstance not in the least improbable.—The person, who, by the unanimous recommendation of the Privy Council, and by the nomination of the Queen, could have the three great offices of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

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of Lord Chamberlain, and Lord High-Treasurer (the greatest an English subject could be invested with), united in himself, must have possessed such acknowledged merit, as may induce the present age to think him an extraordinary, if not an unexceptionable character.—At the breaking out of Oates's Plot, after many anxious enquiries, to use the expression of Burnet, into the arguments for and against Popery, he was converted to Protestantism by Dr. Tillotson ; who had occasion afterwards to write an affecting and affectionate letter to him, on account of the current report of some gallantries he was supposed to be engaged in. He sold all his estates, and turned them into money ; and offered his purse and his sword to the Prince of Orange. He was Secretary of State at the Revolution, and continued in favour with King William, notwithstanding some doubts of his allegiance. Dalrymple, and Macpherson, to whom the Public is indebted for a great number of historical discoveries, maintain the duplicity of his behaviour, and his having repented his share in the Revolution. If Lord Marlborough, who had done so much to expel King James from his dominions, and to place the crown on the head of the Prince of Orange, betrayed the secret of the expedition to Camaret Bay, to his old master ; and if he, and Lord Godolphin, Admiral Russel, and Lord Shrewsbury corresponded with King James, for the pur-

pose of his restoration, which the above-mentioned Writers positively assert, it affords such a mark of insincerity and profligacy of character, that the present generation, notwithstanding any just imputations upon it, would proscribe and abhor. Add to the former list, according to the charge of these Historians, the name of Lord Sunderland, who was in the pay of three Kings at one time.—The Duke of Shrewsbury went by the popular name of the King of Hearts, and was the idol of both parties. A libellous Pamphlet, indeed, is addressed to him (and what great man escapes a libel?), by the name of Polypheme, he having but one eye. He was polite in his address, and engaging in his political behaviour. He is praised for his excellence in the French and Italian languages. He had more friends, and fewer enemies, than any man of his time. His strange marriage, as it was called, and his continuing so long abroad, put the Whigs upon their guard, and created such a coldness between them, as ended in their losing him. He offered his service to the Queen, after Sacheverell's trial, and co-operated with the Tories in making the Treaty of Utrecht; on account of which, he was sent Ambassador to France. He had the good fortune not to be involved in the impeachments, at the Accession, which, it is imagined, his Duchess, who was appointed a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the Princess

Princess of Wales, afterward Queen Caroline, had influence enough to ward off. The Duke became in favour with the new King, and was appointed Lord Chamberlain.—Pope, in the recapitulation of some of his noble friends, for the purpose of poetical praise, thus speaks of our Duke :

Oft, in the calm, still mirror of retreat,  
I studied Shrewsbury, the wise and great.

Dryden commends him for his taste in literature, for his wit, the sweetness of his disposition, and his general benevolence. He thinks it worth publishing to the world, that his Grace had ordered his bookseller, to send him, into the country, his Translation of Virgil, as far as it was advanced in the publication.—Prior writes some highly complimentary verses, in a leaf of Montaign's Essays he presented to the Duke, expressive of an exalted opinion of his judgment on men and things. His manuscripts, and papers, amongst which is supposed to be the Diary of Saville Marquis of Halifax, are entrusted to the Historiographer of Scotland, for the purpose of throwing light upon our History, since the Revolution; which, it is hoped, the British Livy is employing his leisure about.—I do not recollect any Writer, but Davenant, who has endeavoured to depreciate the character of Lord

Somers. His Book of Grants and Resumptions had elaborate answers given to it; which, undoubtedly, contained sufficient exculpations of that Lord. What he accepted from the Crown, was improper only in the mode. The value of all he obtained for his course of services, in comparison with the prodigal pensions and perpetual annuities of the present times, would be considered as a trifle.—So much has been said of Lord Somers, that nothing new can be added. But (as the great Critic and Biographer of our Poets asserts of the late Jacob Tonson, a person of an inferior order) Lord Somers *is a man to be praised, as often as he is named.* It is hoped, the Reader will permit an expatiating Note, which is due from the gratitude of posterity to such a benefactor, in memory of his services at the Revolution; of his assistance towards the Act of Settlement, the Union with Scotland, and on account of his attachment to the interest of the illustrious family on the throne. Swift, as Mr. Horace Walpole expresses it, wrote for him, and Addison from him. Addison composed a copious and beautiful character of him, in the Freeholder, immediately after his death; when flattery could please no longer, and whilst gratitude might be permitted to speak. They both were admitted into his conversation, Whilst Swift depended on the Whig party, and after he had dedicated his Tale of a Tub to him, he drew his pen in his favour, and of  
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the other impeached Lords, in his Contests of Athens and Rome. Even after he flung himself into the arms of Opposition, he continued to speak highly of his abilities ; and prophesies, during the Tory Administration, that, if the Whigs ever again got into power, it would be by the prudence and management of Lord Somers. All the general Histories of England have occasion to mention him ; and he seems to have been considered, as Lord Chatham described him a few sessions ago, *the wisest man in the nation.* He appears to have been a person of great variety of useful and ornamental knowledge, and extensive reading. Whilst in Trinity College, he translated a Life in Plutarch, and two of Ovid's Epistles. He was skilled in the modern as well as the learned languages, as Addison informs us. He patronised an edition of Paradise Lost ; and made Milton more generally read and admired, as Fenton asserts. He had a taste for the polite arts. He was chosen President of the Royal Society, whose meetings he attended. He had great abilities in his profession of the Law, and was a good speaker from the Bench, and in the House of Lords. Of great circumspection in his behaviour, keeping all persons at a proper distance ; and was endowed with great command over his temper. Swift, malignantly, attributes his behaviour, that approached, he says, to the formality of a Gentleman Usher, to the consciousness of his mean birth ;

birth; for his father had been only an Attorney at Worcester. According to a note in a supplemental volume of Swift, Dr. Salter, of the Charter-House, accounts for the revolt of Swift to Harley's party, from his having unluckily got the sight of a letter from Lord Wharton to Somers, about himself, which produced an immediate and immortal hatred to them both. If it had not been for this discovery, or, if they had known Swift was worth their having at any rate, the Whig junto might have been the heroes of his pen, instead of the Ministers of the four last years of the Queen.—Burnet, a good judge of characters, speaks of Somers, in his relation of Charles the Second's reign, as the writer of the best papers that came out at that time; and, after the Revolution, as the ablest, the most patient, and most uncorrupt Judge, that ever adorned the Bench. The amiable Lord Shaftesbury (the grandson of the Chancellor, the pupil of Mr. Locke, and the Author of the *Characteristics*), in his correspondence with Molesworth, in 1708, which he carried on with the epistolary freedom of Cicero to Atticus, on Lord Somers being appointed President of the Council, writes of him, as a man of great wisdom, and who had the interest of his country at heart. Pope commends him for his courtly manners. He lived long enough (under indisposition of body and mind, being worn out with

with application) to be called to the Council-Board, and to be presented to George the First, on his Accession; who thanked him for his services, and asked him, what he could do to oblige him? The old Statesman replied, he had nothing to ask for himself, but he would recommend to his Majesty, Mr. Jekyl (afterward Sir Joseph), his relation, who was a very honest Lawyer. It is supposed that the advice of Lord Somers prevented the Whigs from taking up arms whilst the Queen was living, in defence of the Protestant succession; which, from the publication of the last State Papers, appears to have been in imminent danger. If the plan the Duke of Berwick transmitted, as he mentions it in his Memoirs, had been pursued, of introducing the Pretender into the House of Lords, whilst the Queen was sitting upon her throne, who was to be apprised of the business, and who, upon good conjecture, was willing to resign her crown to her brother, or to permit him to reside in Scotland, and to be her successor, the advantages of the Revolution would have been defeated, and the House of Hanover could not have reigned over us, but by their prevalence in a Civil War.— Secretary Thurloe's State Papers were published from Lord Somers's Collection. The few papers that escaped the flames in Lincoln's Inn, in 1752, demonstrate the soundness of his opinions, and the patriotism of his mind. A Patrician Edi-

tor, who is celebrated for his knowledge of the history of his own country, and whose excellent father married into the House of Somers, and, to meet the praise of Lord Chesterfield, was the greatest Magistrate that this nation ever was blessed with, tells us, there were no less than sixty manuscript volumes in quarto; and that a good judge, who had perused them, pronounced, there was not a sentiment or transaction that Lord Somers or his descendants need to blush for. His motto, which was celebrated for its modesty, was, *Prodeesse quam conspiciri*—Useful rather than conspicuous.

which says you intend to have a violent execution, they  
ordered bloody soldiers to be brought up to you

## CONFERENCE IX.

ROBERT EARL OF OXFORD,

AND

MATTHEW PRIOR, Esq.

[Supposed to be held on the 27th of June, 1715.]

P R I O R.

**M**Y dear frieid Harry has thought fit to step aside, and has left poor Mat in the lurch, to answer for all. He set off this morning for France, and addressed a letter he left behind him, to Lanfdown, to be circulated all over the town; declining a public trial, he says, because he is assured his enemies were determined to take off his head.

O X F O R D.

Then it is high time for you and me to look about us, and arm against a Parliamentaty attack. You have already prevaricated. You promised to tell what you knew; and since

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you

you now are resolved to tell nothing, you must not be surprised a Committee should behave like Inquisitors at this juncture.

## P R I O R.

I was so graciously received on my return from Paris, by the new King, to whom I was presented by Lord Dorset, that I was disposed to satisfy his Ministers in any thing they wanted to know. The next day your Lordship taught me a better lesson.

## O X F O R D.

The unexpected death of the Queen broke all my measures. I could soon have done myself justice, and left some people as low as I found them. Had she lived a little longer, I could have made it as necessary for her successor to have been well with me, as it was my interest to be well with him. Upon a particular incident four years ago, Bolingbroke shewed me, he was become my rival for power. His ambition broke the strength of our party, and his cowardice has ruined himself. His fears will prevent him from trusting himself in the hands of the Whigs,

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and an attainder must of course pass against him.

P R I O R.

They will endeavour to make your Lordship the scape-goat on the occasion. The people are made to believe they are betrayed, and they are led on to ask for blood. I hope your abilities will be roused in the vindication of your honour, and the defence of your friends; and that your skill in the management of parties and the tempers of mankind, will enable you to throw your accusers into confusion. I can discern by your looks, you are ready to face an impeachment. You will scorn, I am sure, to run away.

O X F O R D.

I can lie, or I can die, but I will not fly.

P R I O R.

There spoke the intrepid Statesman. Your resolute example would keep up my spirits, even though poor Mat's courage were none of the best. I shall not desert your cause during the fiery trial. Let the Committee

be long or short in their interrogatories, I will be short in my answers. As soon as the enquiry is set on foot, Mat will take care not to accuse himself, nor bring his Master into jeopardy.

## O X F O R D.

A First Minister ought to be ready at a moment's warning to enter on a defence of his conduct, and to answer for every step he has taken, with his life. He must not hesitate to meet the vengeance of Parliament, nor even the madness of the populace. I foresaw, that if the Hanover succession took place, before I was restored, no mercy would be shewed me, nor my co-adjutors, for what we had done in the last years of the Queen. This I experienced at Greenwich, whither I went to pay my duty to the King, who turned his back upon me, though he bestowed not so much as a frown any where else. Ormond is disgraced, and, if I have any judgment, will not stay at home, but list himself into the Jacobite faction abroad, if he is not already one of that number.

P R I O R.

## P R I O R.

The King has not been rightly informed of the eminent part you took, in regard to the Act of Settlement. Marlborough and the Whigs have persuaded him, that you intended to bring over the Pretender.

## O X F O R D.

I acknowledge my conduct might justify some suspicions of that nature, for it was rather a mysterious one. It appeared strange enough to a stander-by, that Harley, descended from that Parliamentarian name, should put himself at the head of Tories and Jacobites; and that Godolphin, a slave to the House of Stuart, should be in the front of Presbyterians and Republicans. I had no other game to play, than what I did. I have been ill-used by the Whigs; and in a spirit of revenge I might have laid hold of some favourable opportunities that have offered, of placing the Pretender on the Throne. But my principles got the better of my resentments. I have been as cautious of committing myself to my friends,

friends, as to my opponents. The Whigs have thought me a Tory, and some few of the Tories suspect I am a Whig. Knowing how sincerely I meant to advance the title of the House of Hanover, I trusted, when the King came over, I should receive his thanks, and be a second time Lord Treasurer. In this confidence, I actually promised the Seals to Lord Cowper, for whom you remember I procured the Peerage. Things have taken a very different turn from all my calculations.

## P R I O R.

Your Lordship, I am convinced, will not be tried for selling the peace to France, for a round sum of money. Your noble contempt of riches, and the present decay of your fortune, will secure you against a charge of that sort. Your known character for making a secret of every thing, and every thing a secret, will prevent you from much abuse of confidence. Happily you can produce the authority under which you acted, and we are both ready to justify the Utrecht treaty,

treaty, or to suffer for it. For my part, I could as cheerfully bear you company to the Tower, as to Scriblerus's Club, or to our Saturday's dinner at Windsor, as formerly. I am somewhat concerned that your health does not seem capable of enduring the closeness of imprisonment, and the fatigue of a public trial.

O X F O R D .

The life of an insignificant old man is hardly worth preserving. But when so much is at stake, and the House of Commons is likely to be my accuser, like pensionary De Wit, I will be careful of my health, however careless of my life, to plead my cause the better. The King in his own nature is by no means sanguinary. He would not lend his name to the intrigues and intended violence of the Low Church party, in the Queen's time. How far he will be disposed to check or to cherish severity, I cannot divine at present. By lenity, and an oblivion of what is past, he may secure a peaceable reign. But, by provoking the High Party and the Jacobites, of which there is a great leaven in the kingdom,

dom, he will make them desperate, and probably rise against his government. An Act of Parliament King ought to take care how he throws himself into the arms of a Faction, and governs by it. A few days will make it visible, how far he is to be under the influence of a few designing men, and how far Marlborough's Duchess may instigate her husband to attempt to bring me to the block. But I have in my possession, to produce, if hard pushed, what will terrify the Duke from further prosecution.

The Marlborough Junto are enraged enough against me, for the poignancy of my pen. But I am not considerable enough for their malice to exert itself upon. The Whigs have a mind to retaliate for the Partition and Ryswick Treaties, and to pursue the advice Lord Somers constantly gave them, to let the Utrecht business be completed, and afterwards to find fault with it, and pull down the makers of it. Mat's correspondence will be discovered, and he may be punished for doing

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the work that St. John cut out for him. They say he has prudentially taken care to destroy or carry away the books and minutes that might materially affect himself. But the blow is aimed at a person of greater consequence than either the Secretary or myself; and, if he falls, he will be great in his fall.

## OXFORD.

Whether the storm is to blow over, or to rage with more turbulence, I am ready to cry out, "Justum et tenacem." You know the rest. I shall not be wanting in the justification of my administration, or of my Royal Mistress, nor to enforce the state of public affairs, that demanded an end to be put to the war. I could have made a better peace, if the Whigs would have let me. With my dying breath, I should pronounce the treaty, already approved by four Parliaments, and even such as it is at last, a beneficial one, and what, if it was to come over again, I would make myself answerable for, in order to keep down Marlborough, and to keep out the

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Pretender.

Pretender. My expression may be oracular, but I may be more explicit hereafter.

## P R I O R.

If Hannibal is at the gates, there is no time for your favourite procrastination. Recollect Swift's ironical recommendation of the emblematical snail for your crest. Who would have thought, only a few weeks ago, that Prior, the Plenipotentiary to Lewis the Fourteenth, should, all on a sudden, be likely to be confined like a common man, in a small room, in some Messenger's house !

## O X F O R D.

When that happens to be the case, unless you are debarred the use of pen and ink, you may amuse yourself in writing songs and lampoons. As you have done with the trade of Politics, the Muses, who think you have forsook them, would be glad to receive you again. Birds, that have not their full liberty, must be content to sing in a cage. Or, to relieve the dulness of confinement, what think you of meditating a History of your own Times, towards which, when at full leisure,

Harley

Harley may contribute something, as old Burleigh did to Camden?

## P R I O R.

Your jocularity will never leave you. To the surprise of all the Members of the Club, which you attended pretty constantly, your genius even furnished you with crambo verses, when you had half the affairs of Europe in your head, which were equal to any of our extempore productions. If ever I incline my pen to History, I shall tell the world you gave me the first hint. But the moments are too precious for your Lordship to throw them away in being witty upon me. Let me finish my visit with observing, that your instantaneous reply to the line of Swift,

*Time and I 'gainst any two—  
Chance and I 'gainst Time and you—*

is really prophetic.

## O X F O R D.

In the same spirit of prophecy, I declare, all will be well again with us both. I am im-

patient to answer in my place in the House of Peers, and ready to abide by their resolutions. I am convinced nothing will be made out against Mat nor Oxford. I prognosticate, that Harley, who escaped from the knife of Guiiscard, at the Council-Table (which Prior has put upon poetical record), shall not suffer by the sentence of the axe, for high-treason, on a scaffold on Tower-Hill.

## N O T E.

The aged and well-informed Lord Bathurst might have been consulted, if these Papers could have been obtained sooner for the public perusal, about the justness of this Conference. His intimacy with the Minister and the Plenipotentiary might have recognised this remarkable and familiar conversation. The reply that Oxford makes to Prior, on being made acquainted that Bolingbroke was gone off, was told to the Editor, forty years ago, by a gentleman, whose situation in life enabled him to know the truth, at least the credibility of it. Four lines from Pope's Panegyric on Lord Oxford must be quoted, as they exhibit some praiseworthy parts of his character, in the most beautiful numbers.

A foul

A soul supreme, in each hard instance try'd,  
 Above all pain, all anger, and all pride ;  
 The rage of power, the blast of public breath,  
 The lust of lucre, and the dread of death !

Oxford was imprisoned two years in the Tower. His friends at last demanded a trial for him, and his enemies could make nothing out against him. He was not terrified, when the axe was carried before him into Westminster-Hall. A quarrel arose between the two Houses, which checked the proceedings. The King is reported to have disengaged the prosecution. Harley's courage, or innocence, preserved him. The Duchess of Marlborough was the most disappointed and enraged person in the nation, on account of his acquittal. Steele, after begging his Lordship's pardon for the virulence of his pen, thus handsomely addresses him, in his Letter on the Peerage Bill. " I told you, when I resigned the " Stamp Office, I wished you all prosperity con- " sistent with the public good ; so, I now con- " gratulate you upon the pleasure you must " needs have, in looking back upon the true " fortitude with which you have passed through " the dangers arising from the rage of the people, " and the envy of the rest of the world. If to " have rightly judged of men's passions and pre- " judices, vices and virtues, interests and incli- " nations, and to have waited with skill and  
                         " courage

" courage for proper seasons and incidents to  
" make use of them, for a man's safety and ho-  
" nour, can administer pleasure to a man of sense  
" and spirit, your Lordship has abundant cause  
" of satisfaction." Poor Prior suffered a close  
and tedious confinement, in a Messenger's house,  
in Brownlow-Street. Whilst the Plenipo was  
deprived of his personal liberty, his free-born  
Muse was delivered of the original poem of Alma.  
His intention, as expressed on his monument in  
Westminster-Abbey, of writing the History of his  
own Time (towards which some fragments were  
published indeed after his death), helps to make  
this Conference more plausible.

## CONFERENCE X.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,  
AND  
MR. PELHAM.

[Supposed in Arlington-Street, on the second or third of February, 1741.]

W A L P O L E,

**I**T is my determined resolution never to enter the House of Commons again. The decision of the Chippenham Election is the ruin of my power. Such a desertion of one's friends must hasten the period of any Administration. I will not venture myself on a more important question. The times, perhaps, may require the novelty of another system. The people will not bear a perpetual Minister, any more than a perpetual Parliament. Continual opposition must prevail at last. The heir apparent of the Crown declares himself against me. It is not for the

welfare

welfare or the peace of the King, that I should remain longer at the head of affairs. I shall be satisfied, if his interposition should secure me against the sanguinary fury of my enemies, if my innocence cannot.

## P E L H A M.

If you can resign your places without regret, and make tolerable terms for yourself, and withal, be content to pass the remainder of your life amongst your books and your pictures at Houghton, I cannot but commend the greatness of your mind. If you leave us to ourselves, I have to wish your great parliamentary talents may not be missed, and that our enemies, foreign and domestic, may not take advantage, when you have given up the helm. The King knows very well how to gain over some of the leading men; but I believe he would rather that you should give way, in confidence of his protection, with a Peerage and a pension.

## W A L P O L E.

England is a popular Government, and the humour of the nation is to be gratified even in turning out a Minister, when they are taught

taught so loudly to ask for it. It was foretold me by some of my friends, before the last general election, that I should lose, in the course of a few sessions, my usual majorities. Even though my Master should be willing to stipulate to prolong my political existence to the next Parliament, yet the malevolence of party would pursue me, and would overtake me in the long run. I mean, by the appearance of a voluntary resignation, to prevent the disgrace of being turned out, in consequence of a rude address to the Throne. The King's service must not be obstructed. I, who had the honour to make up a difference between the present King and his Father, will not be the cause of a breach between the Prince and my Royal Master. I have been permitted to take the lead in the affairs of Great Britain for more than twenty years; and, during my direction, the King gave me to understand, he considered me as responsible for every measure of Government. Let me see who will have such good fortune, and stand his ground so long, without incurring more of the public hatred or contempt.

## P E L H A M.

I believe it is impossible for a Prime Minister to be long popular in this country; or to remain in office, as you have done, unless the Crown thinks it the judgment to preserve him. The people, it is plain, do not know how difficult it is to keep things together; nor that their business is generally carried on, as well as ambition and opposition will permit it to be. Their mutability, as you observe, induces them to try new men, who have never had it in their power to disappoint them.

## W A L P O L E.

I have been moderate in the exercise of the over-grown power I have been trusted with. As you remember, I did not second your spirited motion for sending Shippen to the Tower; because I would not gratify every zealot of the Jacobite party, who was desirous of being so much noticed. I had the courage to take away the commissions of Bolton and Cobham; for I thought, and declared, that he must be a pitiful fellow of a Minister, who would not do the same, or would suffer a regular opposition from the declared

Servants of the Crown. I could not have thought, when I obliged Pitt, the nephew of the latter, to sell his cornetcy of horse, I should have reason to fear the thunder and lightning of his eloquence, which, at its commencement, was frivolous and theatrical. I forgave every thing against myself, but nothing that was done against my Master. The numerous libels against me, which amounted to almost a third part of the pamphlets that were ushered into the world, I looked upon as the offspring of want rather than of conviction ; though, to counteract them, I took into pay a legion of authors\*, who imposed upon my good-nature, and extorted enormous sums of money for their literary services. I did not think, with my predecessor Wolsey †, that if a Minister does not destroy

\* In ten years only were paid, with the public money, fifty thousand seventy-seven pounds eighteen shillings, to Authors, and Printers of News papers. Double the sum, says Pope, which gained Lewis XIV. so much honour, in annual pensions to learned men all over Europe.

† If this had been a proper moment for a compliment, he might have wished Mr. Pelham much happiness, from his improvements at Esher-Place, which had once belonged to Cardinal Wolsey,

" Where Kent and Nature vied for Pelham's love."

the Press (then only in its infancy), the Press will certainly destroy him. But I say, from my own personal experience, that, if care is not taken, any Administration may be written down. The liberty of the Press has not been touched, and the Stage-licensing Act has been more exposed by ridicule than by argument. In and out of place, I have been a staunch and consistent Whig. The forage contract, which ended in my imprisonment in the Tower, by a spiteful vote of the Tories, did not prevent my rising at the Accession into power. The Septennial Act was carried by the united interest of the Whig families ; to maintain the tranquillity of the nation, and to preserve the King upon the throne, our party had placed there. For, I believe, the enthusiasm of Jacobitism was so prevailing, that if the voice of every constituent had been fairly taken, we should have been out-voted. My setting myself against the aristocratical tyranny of the Peerage Bill, did me no disfavour in the next reign. My difference with Stanhope did not create that disunion the disaffected were in hopes of. I made good my boast, of having a great number of friends, whom I confessed

confessed I was determined to provide for, in contradiction to his pretended disinterestedness. This occasioned my being so well served and supported afterward. The South-Sea bubble, and my projected contract with the Bank, raised the opinion of my abilities. I was rejoiced at being able to reward the intrepid Cunningham with the rich Government of Jamaica, whose immediate presence of mind rescued me from the De-Witting rage of the mob, that was raised against me, by their betters, on account of the Excise-Bill \*.

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\* The Minister was prevailed upon to move for the putting off the second reading of this memorable Bill for three months. It was on account of the tumultuous petitioners from the City, that he dropped the inadvertent expression, *that he knew whom the Law called sturdy beggars.* This was rung like an alarm-bell all over the kingdom, as a charge of calling the London Merchants, in direct words, by that opprobrious term; and became the lie of the day. It is impossible to avoid transcribing a few lines from the present King of Prussia's Family Memoirs. " Walpole found the King at St. James's arming " himself cap-a-pee. He had already put on the beaver he " had worn at Malplaquet, was trying the sword with which " he had fought at Oudenarde, and was for putting himself " at the head of his guards, assembled in the court of the " palace, in order to support, with firmness, his EXCISE " scheme." — If the Reader smiles, on account of this quotation, it is what the Editor cannot avoid doing whilst

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The resistance to this scheme was the greatest blow I had met with. As I never lost a question I was in earnest to carry, I halted between the two opinions, of going forward or of retreating ; but I chose the latter, and gave it up with as good a grace as I could. I have outlived, or got the better of all my rivals and contemporaries. I was not kept down by the furious Sunderland. I have been able to keep the cankered Bolingbroke from his seat in Parliament and at the Coun-

He is inserting it here. The Royal Writer, though misinformed in this particular, is the greatest Captain of the age ; a Legislator, Historian, and Poet, of no ordinary merit. More truly may it be affirmed of him, than of our victorious Duke of Marlborough, that if he could be persuaded to give us his Memoirs, he would shew that he could write, as well as fight, like Cæsar.—To make amends for this quotation, that sets our last Sovereign in a ludicrous point of view, the Editor, whose life commenced with his coronation, takes a pleasure in remarking, that his reign was a great blessing to his people ; and, bating some natural predilection for his native country, which posterity will probably overlook, was conducted with more prudence and gentleness, than this, or any other nation of ancient or modern story can boast. One word more, on the good old King, as he is familiarly called. He was in practice, what he delivered in precept to his grandson (now our most amiable Sovereign), on the death of his father Frederic Prince of Wales, which is supposed to have been in these words : “ *Be an honest man, be a brave man ; but above all, be an honest man.*”

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cil-Board. He is now consulted as the oracle of the party ; and his tongue and his pen are venomously employed against me. I gained the ascendant over Halifax and Townshend. The notions of the latter, with regard to German connexions, were not entirely agreeable to the inclinations of the King. I outbid Compton for the favour of the Queen, who had influence to the last, in undertaking to carry through the Houses a Bill for a larger settlement upon her. I had already foiled him at the Council-Board, by taking the pen out of his hand, to draw the Declaration on the King's death, which he was not able to do. Till that acquired superiority, I had reason to doubt of being permitted to take the lead in the Cabinet ; and it was imagined by the people without doors, that I was under a cloud at the new Court. Lord Scarborough \*

\* Lord Chesterfield, who seems to have made him his pattern, considers him as an able Statesman, and a man of the nicest honour. It was whispered at the time (and the reputations of some of the greatest characters have been whispered away), that he could not outlive the reproach of his Sovereign, for betraying an important secret to a Lady.

" When I confess there is who feels for fame,

" And melts to goodness, need I Scarb'rough name ? "

POPE.

could.

could not keep the Court-secret, that otherwise might have brought about a change in the Ministry. If I have loved power, I have not injured my country whilst in possession of it. I have not offended against any known law of the land. I have lulled the nation into tranquillity, and enlarged its commerce. I staved off the Merchant's war as long as I was able. For I could answer for a safe and tolerable management of the political machine in time of peace, but not so well after a declaration of war. The oratory of Captain Jenkins \*, at our bar, bore down like a torrent all ministerial objections to hostilities against Spain. When the nation was resolved, I gave into warlike measures, and I leave my antagonists to get out as well as they can. I hope, hereafter, when the popular madness has subsided, that your moderation and ca-

\* Jenkins's ship had been rummaged by a guarda costa sloop. The Spaniards tore off one of the Captain's ears, and threatened him with death. Upon being asked, at the Bar of the House of Commons, what were his sentiments on that awful occasion? he replied, that "he recommended his soul to God, and his cause to his country." This reply inflamed the majority of that assembly, and ended in those resolutions, that were productive of the taking of Porto Bello.

pacity will raise you to the highest employments. If my recommendation at this juncture can have weight, it should be, to place Lord Wilmington, who is not considered as a party man, at the head of the Treasury when I am withdrawn.

## P E E H A M.

The intemperate zeal without doors, and the mischievous factions within, would alone discourage any inclination to undertake the guidance of the political vessel through the storm. It is impossible to judge what will be the consequence of your giving up at this critical moment. The House contains a great number of angry Whigs, discontented Tories, of active Republicans, and open or concealed Jacobites. Unless something is done to prevent it, they, in their implacable wrath, may pass some absurd Resolutions, that may break in upon the constitution; for they have the government in their own hands.

## W A L P O L E.

Make yourself easy. The multitude, of course, will be dazzled and deceived. The

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House

House will soon be restored to its senses. When the man in the Blue Riband is vanished from his place, and the Demagogues find that Government is not to be taken by storm, they will not agree in relation to the Public on any important point; they will be contending for places and pensions for themselves and their adherents. Even eloquence may be mute, when I am gone. The Crown, by its necessary influence \*, and by a judicious application of it, will prevent things from falling to pieces. A Pulteney, a Sandys, a Lyttelton, or a Pitt, will talk from the Treasury-bench, as I have done. The House must have its Manager, as well as its Speaker. By laying hold of this important instant of taking my leave of public affairs, I shall prevent the contrivance of any popular petitions, and the setting on foot of any desperate associations (in imitation of those which disturbed the kingdom a century ago), which would be christened by mock patriotism, the constitutional fourth part of the Legislature. Matters are not gone

\* By that influence of the Crown which I would justify, I mean only, that arising from the offices and honours which are at the disposal of the Crown.

HUME.

fo

so far, as to force the King to take the most obnoxious men into his service. The Electors are privileged to chuse their Representatives, but are by no means competent to nominate to the Cabinet. Though I have no reason to be pleased with the complexion of the House, yet I had rather submit to the exile of a private station by their vote, than afford occasion to my deluded countrymen to become their masters; to intimidate their harangues, and to prescribe their resolves.

## P E L H A M.

Depend upon it, under the speciousness of destroying corruption, the more violent will move for a Bill in favour of short Parliaments, and against all placemen and pensioners.

## W A L P O L E.

Nothing is said to be so like an old Administration, as a new one. We know, that neither home affairs nor foreign alliances can proceed, if a Parliament has but the length of one, or even three sessions. A person who is a fit representative for three years, is as fit for the delegation of seven. Some of my

opponents have not seen an hour's business in the course of their lives, and will find themselves miserably at a loss when they are put into office, and come to act. A Country Gentleman sees with different eyes from the experienced Statesman, and will discover, when he accepts a good place, the necessity of many things he once could not conceive. You will have speedy and frequent occasions of observing the blunders and embarrassment of these politicians, in their novitiate. Take my word for it, the new Ministers, whoever they may be, will strangle every bill of reformation in its birth, notwithstanding their engagements to their constituents.

## P E L H A M.

Pulteney has pushed you so hard, that nothing but the bringing him into temper will check retrospective enquiries. The royal hand that struck his name out of the Privy Council-book, must reinstate him there. The King must stoop to solicit him to interfere between the rights of the Crown and the demands of the People, or all will be lost. He has

more

more sense than to give into the idea of a Commonwealth. A Peerage and a seat in the Cabinet will content him. He will not venture, after his vehement asseverations, to think of filling a responsible office. His immense property will secure him against co-operating towards making innovations. His avarice is yet greater than his revenge or his ambition, and it would be worth while to lay a bait for it. When he is well with the King, or rather, when the King is well with him, business will begin to flow in its right channel. I should not be surprised to see your former associate (who is as good an old Whig as a Pelham or a Walpole, and whose original quarrel was because the one could bear no equal, and the other no superior) desirous to place himself on the same woolsack, in the House of Peers. You will find, he will wink at the distribution of secret service money, and the subsidies to foreign Princes. A Minister, or even a King, who gives nothing, or has nothing to give, will not be permanent.

WALPOLE.

## W A L P O L E.

Corruption is a frightful word ; yet, under the less profligate one of influence, you will be obliged to practise it. There is no carrying on Government without it. To expect to bring over to unanimity of opinion a whole House of Commons, and to carry an important question by the dint of reason alone, would be folly in the extreme. But if the influence of money should cease, I should dread as much as my friend Sherlock would do, to see an independent House of Commons, as an independent King, or an independent House of Lords\*. I have been called the Father of Corruption ; but I have done no more than my predecessors in my station

\* He was not, it is true, the inventor of that shameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles the Second's time (Lord Belingbroke says, it began under the Administration of Lord Clifford) ; but with uncommon skill, and unbounded profusion, he brought it to that perfection, which at this time dishonours and distresses this country ; and which, if not checked, and God knows how it can be checked, must ruin it.

Lord CHESTERFIELD.

have

have been obliged to do †. When prerogative ended, influence in Parliament began, and became a necessary engine of every Administration. I have converted many a bigotted Jacobite into a moderate man; and have really checked the forwardness of some, who came into my measures with so much pliability, that it has made even a Walpole blush. I have found it necessary to consult the pulse of many a wavering Senator; and I conclude, from my extensive experience, that almost every man has his price. Sir John Barnard wants popularity; and that is a reward no English Minister has to spare. When I observed any one blazing like a meteor into glaring observation, and likely to make a figure against me or my Master, I have thought him the Cæsar against whom Cato would have allowed me to bribe. Whatever

† The further mixed governments shrink from the iron scourges of despotism, the more they must be entangled in the golden fetters of corruption: for corruption will always increase, in due proportion to the decrease of arbitrary power; since, where there is less power to command obedience, there must be more bribery to purchase it, or there can be no government at all. ORIGIN OF EVIL, p. 330.

may

may be laid to my charge, of profusion or inadvertency, I have not heard that a single Member, who has voted with me, has complained he has voted against his conscience. When the Revolution made the people less afraid of their sovereigns, the milder management of men, through their passions and their interests, and even their amusements, has taken place. The gratifications of the Court are become necessary to win gentlemen to attend, even to make a House, and to act in their legislative capacities. I shall carry with me the consolatory reflection, that I have kept within bounds the malignity of Whig and Tory ; that I have saved the nation from the extravagance of war ; that I have not rendered my Sovereign unpopular ; that I have counterminded the views of the Pretender ; and that I have, at the right time, formed an intention of giving up my places, like a good citizen, to prevent any possible convulsion in the State. Consider me no longer as a Member of the Lower House. I shall be safe, as a Lord, among the Lords. Argyle, Carteret, and Chesterfield know better than to become

( 183 )

Tribunes of the People. Their ardour for a Continental war will make Hanover more odious than I have done, and themselves more ungracious. I wish they may not make its Elector so at last.

P E L H A M .

The attention to the groans of Germany, and to the Pragmatic Sanction, will call the Public off from parliamentary squabbles ; and if the Pretender makes an attempt, it will, in the end, strengthen the hands of the Crown, and oblige us to a greater unanimity.

W A L P O L E .

Things are not yet ripe for an invasion from France, or for publicly avowing the Pretender's cause. I foresee I shall have remaining influence to make a division in the House, and among the chiefs, who are rising upon my ruins. But I will never think of returning back into power. I will have nothing to do for or against any future Administration. I will avoid every thing that can

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tend to the disturbance of the Royal counsels, For the remainder of my time, I will continue a quiet and a private subject. I am not sure that I am philosopher enough to bear retirement with dignity. I am afraid I should not have been tired of the Public, if the Public had not been first tired of me. But I will endeavour to make a sort of virtue of necessity. Of one advantage, from my change of condition, I shall be certain: That my secession will relieve me from the clamours of the importunate, the revolt of friends, the greediness of rapine \*, when I have nothing more to give, and from the baseness of ingratitude.

\* See Lord Orford's Letter to General Churchill,

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#### N O T E.

This last Conference carries with it as authentic an appearance as any of the foregoing. There is not an expression or sentiment but what Sir Robert employed in his speeches, or in confidential discourse. His declaration, at the beginning of

of this Talk, was first made in the Lobby of the House of Commons, and was heard by many persons still living. It is not at all unlikely, he might unbosom himself to Mr. Pelham, in the manner related; since it is universally known, he had a great and deserved respect for that Gentleman, who died, lamented by the whole nation, while First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Editor is sorry to have it in his power to remark, that this consummate and fallen Statesman, when left amongst his pictures and his books in Norfolk, did not, immediately on his retreat from public affairs, find himself perfectly at his ease. It would have been a lucky opportunity to have been present, and to have written down a singular conversation between Lord Orford and the late Lord Holland, in the library at Houghton. It would probably have had no small resemblance to a scene in Shakespeare, between Wolsey and Cromwell.

The Editor cannot avoid making a few observations on Sir Robert Walpole, created afterwards Earl of Orford, and not totally without applause on his conduct; especially as some of the demagogues, who helped to pull him down, have confessed in the House the error of their opposition. The greatest objection to his long

Administration, in the judgment of a late accomplished political writer and historian, is, the not having paid off more of the national debt. By his management he kept out the Pretender, which is more than his successors could do. He was neither hated nor feared as a Minister. He had no evil intentions against public liberty. No man in private life had, or deserved to have, more friends.

Seen him I have, but in his happier hour  
Of social pleasure, ill exchang'd for pow'r:  
Seen him, unumber'd with the venal tribe,  
Smile without art, and win without a bribe.

POPE.

He maintained the nation in profound peace, as long as he was permitted to do it \*. He was acquainted with public business in all its branches; and, in the opinion of Secretary Craggs, understood money affairs better than any man in England. He had the art of guiding the House of Commons, on which, as the Duchess of Marl-

\* He tried all he could to prevent the war; but finding the sense of the nation averse to pacific measures, he called for the list of the army. Upon running over the names of the Generals, very few of whom had seen any service, he cried out, with his usual humour, "I cannot pretend to say, what effect this list will have upon the enemy, but, I declare, it makes me tremble."

borough,

borough, when converted into an Author, expresses herself, *so much depends*, beyond any Minister who ever sat there. He was superior to all in parliamentary knowledge, and in the conduct of a debate. His language, if it was not eloquence, may be pronounced as something better. So clear was he in stating the most intricate matters, says a competent judge, especially in the finances, that whilst he was speaking, the most ignorant thought they understood what they did not. He was seldom known to lose his temper, though he was often provoked. A hasty expression, on the Petition of the London Merchants, had like to have raised a storm against him. By directing the favours of the Crown, which were at his command, and by the magical touch of the golden wand of Midas, he kept King, Lords, Commons, and the People of England, for many years, and at a moderate expence, from quarrelling with each other. Lord Chesterfield, his rival and enemy, who says he knew him well, concludes his character of him with confessing, that though he will not be reckoned amongst the best men, or the best ministers, "much less" "ought he to be ranked among the worst." [His eldest son was called to the House of Peers. Himself, who had been some years Knight of the Bath, was honoured with the Garter.—He was created a Baron, Viscount, and Earl, in 1741. He accepted

accepted a pension of four thousand pounds a year, though the wealth of the nation once lay at his feet, which he did not long enjoy; for he died of the stone, at his house in Arlington-street, in his 71st year, in 1746. Ranby, his family surgeon, who published his case, finishes his pamphlet, if recollection is perfect, in these undisguised and respectful words: "Thus died, " Robert Earl of Orford, who in private life had " no equal, in public no superior."—It is said, he brought on a fit of his disorder by coming up to London to give the King some advice, who sent for him. He made his appearance in the House, when a message was brought from the King, on the last Rebellion; moved an address upon it, and spoke with zeal on the occasion; for which, even the Prince of Wales went up to return him his thanks. He once attended the House, on an appeal from the Court of Chancery, on a cause in which he interested himself very much; but it was visible, says the Communicator of this, that he was no longer *Minister.* ]

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 81.

**I**T is certain that the title of Protector did not satisfy his ambition, but that he aimed to be King. The matter was for some time under consideration, both in his mock-Parliament and his Council of State: insomuch, that a crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall, for that purpose—says Welwood, in his Memoirs.

Page 83.

“ I know but one man in the world, says Cromwell, who despises me, and that is Cardinal de Retz.” This opinion of him, says De Retz in his Memoirs, had like to have cost me very dear,

It was said, reports Wellwood, that Cardinal Mazarine would change countenance whenever he heard him named: so that it passed into a proverb in France, that he was not so much afraid of the Devil as of Oliver Cromwell.

Page 101.

There is a tradition (says Lord Bolingbroke), I have heard it from persons who lived in those days, and I believe it came from Thurloe, That Cromwell was in treaty with Spain, and ready to turn his arms against France, when he died. If this fact was certain, as little as I honour his memory, I should have some regret that he died so soon.

Page

Page 127.

The Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Danby, and Lord Delamere met, disguised as farmers, on Whittington-moor, a common in the parish of an obscure village of that name, about three miles north of Chesterfield, in Derbyshire. Rain coming on soon after they began their Conference, they took shelter at a little alehouse (the sign of the Cock and Magpie) in Whittington, which has ever since zealously been styled (as the sign to this day tells us), “*The Revolution House.*”— And the room, wherein the three Peers met, has, as zealously been called, by the Anti-Revolutionists, “*The Plotting Parlour.*” TRADITION.

THE END.




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The Errors of the Press are probably fewer than those of the Pen. The influence of the Genijs of MEMORY, on the Title-page, has not probably preserved a votary from mistakes. But it is hoped, that truth has not been violated; and that the indulgence of the Reader will consider the collector of fugitive Anecdotes, not so responsible as a writer of grand and general History.

## ERRATUM.

Page 85, for Symmonds *read* Simon (Thomas), chief Engraver of the Mint to Charles the First, the Commonwealth, Lord Protector Cromwell, and Charles the Second.

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